America

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A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

The problem of feeding Germany

More food, not fewer people

ROBERT A. GRAHAM

Letter from Bulgaria
Testament of one marked for death
G. RILOV

New horizon in industrial relations

Here, too, peace is indivisible

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

Art from the pews
The priest must teach, the people create



FRED F. McCAFFREY

Russian impasse
Crisis for the UN
Will there be atomic war?
EDITORIALS

Poems of Gerald Manley Hopkins
Reviewed by JOHN PICK

The American Political Tradition

Reviewed by ROBERT C. HARTNETT



Apr. 2, 1949 1



A286748

VOL. 80

OCTOBER 9, 1948

NUMBER 1

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Contents

America, October 9, 1948	
Comment on the Week	1
Washington FrontCharles Lucey Underscorings	5
Editorials	6
Russian impasse Crisis for the UN Will there be atomic war? Morals and natural resources	
Articles	
New horizon of industrial relations Benjamin L. Masse	9
A letter from Bulgaria	11
The problem of feeding Germany Robert A. Graham	14
Literature and Art	17
Art from the pews Fred F. McCaffrey	
BooksReviewed by	
The American Political Tradition: And the Men Who Made It Robert C. Hartnett	18
Gerard Manley Hopkins: A Study of Poetic Idiosyncrasy in Relation to Poetic TraditionPoems of Ger- ard Manley Hopkins John Pick	19
The Indonesian Story Thomas H. D. Mahoney	19
Dorothy G. Wayman	20
Mary Burke Howe	21
One Clear Call	22
The Cleft Rock Elda Tanasso	23
Resolving Social Conflicts	23
The WordJoseph A. Breig 2	24
TheatreTheophilus Lewis 2	25
FilmsMoira Walsh 2	26
ParadeJohn A. Toomey 2	7
Correspondence 2	8

AMERICA. Published weekly by the America Press, 70 East 45th Street, New York 17, N. Y. October 9, 1948. Vol. LXXX, No. 1. Whole No. 2056. Telephone MUrray Hill 3-0197. Cable Address: Cathreview. Domestic, yearly \$6; 15 cents a copy. Canada, \$7; 17 cents a copy. Foreign, \$7.50; 20 cents a copy. Entered as second-class matter, April 15, 1909, at the Post Office at New York, under act of March 3, 1879. AMERICA, A Catholic Review of the week. Registered U.S. Patent Office.



Comment on the Weel

Vishinsky's disarmament plan

When Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky arrived on the scene in Paris for the opening of the UN General Assembly, there was natural speculation as to what particular new rabbit he would pull out of the propaganda hat. Memories were vivid of the numbed amazement which greeted his debut at Lake Success, when all pretenses of East-West amity were swept aside, and the year-long torrent of epithets began to roar. So definite was the Paris anticipation that some surprise was voiced over the fact that when Vishinsky did talk, he was a bit milder than on his previous appearances. He introduced with some show of moderation a demand that the General Assembly tell the Big Five to reduce all present land, naval and air forces by one-third in the next year, and to scrap the atomic bomb. He also demanded that an international control body be created to oversee both plans. Instead of the expected "surprise package," Mr. Vishinsky merely added a specific proposal for a one-third reduction in arms. Back in April, 1947 Mr. Gromyko had made the same plea for immediate disarmament. So that Mr. Vishinsky's speech was generally labeled "old stuff," or, as Britain's Hector McNeil expressed it: "the same cauld kale." But whether the kale be hot or cold, to a starving person that homely dish can seem like a menu from paradise. Mr. Vishinsky presumably knows by this time that the statesmen of the West see nothing but hypocrisy in a disarmament without any advance "protection from treachery," as expressed by Senator Vandenberg. But he also knows that the word peace appeals to more people today than any other word in the vocabulary of mankind, among them those peoples or nations who for one reason or another entertain a grudge against the United States. This imposes on the Western nations an unceasing task: to clarify and keep clarifying for these same people the real issues of peace; to show the "frightening" danger-to use Premier Spaak's words—that lies behind the Soviet's glib talk of U.S. imperialism and warmongering. It is not enough to be weary of Soviet repetitions: their deceiving effect must be counteracted by still more positive and specific proposals.

Truce in France

When, on September 11, Henri Queuille, France's latest Premier, formed his Government, he did not undertake to persuade all the political groups composing the "Third Force," which he represented, to unite. The split between the Socialists and the Right was too deep to be healed. The best M. Queuille could do was to ask for a "political truce" in order to "save the franc," on the basis of the economic program proposed on August 31 by former Premier Robert Schuman. He is faced, of course, by the same economic problems as were his predecessors: by

the gap between wages and prices the need for increased taxation, the struggle against inflation. And he is likewise confronted by the same political anomaly which plagued M. Schuman and M. André Marie: the fact that the Communists have returned to the opposition, as a result of their refusal to accept the obligations of the Marshall Plan. At present no one party can think of leading the country. The "Third Force" itself, supposedly existing through the coalition of the Popular Republicans (MRP) and the Socialists, must now swing somewhat to the Right if it is to make any headway at all.

U.S. aid to the French Government

Can the United States, or should it, have confidence in this uneasy Government? It holds its own by resisting or ignoring the ever-growing demand for a dissolution of Parliament (now held back by a disputed technicality) and for new elections: a demand which has been growing ever since the municipal elections in October, 1947 and the gains of De Gaulle's movement (RPF). While Parliament struggles with the budget, the De Gaullists and the Reds continue to battle, and the all-important elections are postponed until next March. The U.S. State Department has announced, some believe prematurely, the coming release of funds from the \$5-billion "counterpart fund" in French currency which is being held in France as part of the Marshall Plan. This will undoubtedly be explained as a purely economic measure, not as a vote of political confidence. But in the state France is in today, can the economic issue be separated from the political? And if not, which is our better choice: to bolster the present shaky truce, in order to avoid possibly worse evils; or to take a drastic step and demand that the politicians of France make a flat decision and find out now just how the French people really feel about the whole affair? To this question there is no facile answer. But it is well if the French know that people in the United States are asking just that.

Trust-busting drive

Coming hard on the heels of the anti-monopoly suit against the Big Four packers, the decision of the Justice Department to investigate the far-flung du Pont empire indicates the sweeping nature of the Government's current drive to enforce the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. In addition to the many anti-trust actions begun before or early in the war but suspended for the duration, Attorney General Tom C. Clark announced more than a year ago that the Justice Department, in an effort to reduce the cost of living, would launch an attack on monopolistic practices in food, housing and clothing. But simultaneously with the Grand Jury investigation of du Pont, the Anti-Trust division confirmed rumors that it had even more pretentious ambitions. "Congress last year gave us

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a considerable sum, \$3,400,000, the largest appropriation in the division's history," said Assistant Attorney General, Herbert A. Bergson. "We consider this a mandate for vigorous anti-trust prosecutions, and we are trying to deliver." What is planned, then, is a trust-busting drive that will surpass anything before attempted, even the famous attack on monopoly associated with the name of Theodore Roosevelt. The large number of leading American corporations that will be, or already are, involved in this anti-monopoly crusade emphasizes the pertinency of our editorial remarks last week (Am. 10/2 p. 587). The time has come for Congress to take a new and searching look at a law which has generated much confusion, has largely failed to achieve its purpose, and which appears to be "more honor'd in the breach than the observance."

Economic concentration

Whether or not the Government succeeds in convicting du Pont of monopolistic practices, the investigation will dramatize the growing concentration of control in American industry. E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., a billiondollar corporation, is said to be controlled by Christiana Securities, a du Pont family holding company which owns 27 per cent of the stock. In turn, du Pont is reported to own 60 per cent of the common and 99 per cent of the preferred stock of Remington Arms, and to control General Motors, the largest manufacturing corporation in the world. In addition, it is said to dominate, by stock ownership, U.S. Rubber, International Freighting, Bendix Aviation and several other companies. Jointly with General Motors, du Pont owns Kinetic Chemicals. Taken together, these companies constitute a very large and influential segment of American industry. Du Pont has had monopoly troubles before, notably in 1915 when a Delaware court order held the explosives business to be a monopoly. The result was the creation of Hercules Powder and Atlas Power as separate and competing concerns. The story of the rise and growth of the du Pont empire appears to be a classic illustration of the statement of Pope Pius XI, in Quadragesimo Anno, that

concentration of power and might, the characteristic mark, as it were, of contemporary economic life, is the fruit that the unlimited freedom of struggle among competitors has of its own nature produced, and which lets only the strongest survive. . . .

It would seem to show also that the Sherman Act is a very inadequate solution to the difficult problem of competition and monopoly.

AMERICA—A Catholic Review of the Week—Edited and Published by the following Jesuit Fathers of the United States:

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Sanity in the South

While Dixiecrats and Wallaceites were preparing a field day for Communists and the Ku Klux Klan, a group of much more representative citizens was meeting to discuss the problems of the South and the nation at a higher level than that of eggs and epithets. The executive committee of the Southern Regional Council, a body in whose ranks is found the best liberal leadership of the Southland, issued a statement on September 18 from Chattanooga, Tenn., which rebukes alike the intemperance of the Wallace "Progressives" and the anti-Truman reactionaries. "There is no magic formula," it said, for the solution of the civil-rights problem.

Jobs and farms and homes and schools and health—these are the underpinnings of civil rights. In all of these basic needs the South is below the level of the rest of the country, and in the South the Negro population is below the white population. The job is to raise the whole South, white and Negro, up to the level of the rest of the country.

Pointing out that "the United States is in grim competition for the support of the people of the world, threefourths of whom are colored," the committee said that "slow evolutionary improvement" in the matter of civil rights would not do in today's crisis: "The South may defend its right to do the job in its own way, but the South cannot insist on doing it in its own good time." There must be an honest effort, it went on, "to accept the Negro as a full citizen and to expend public funds in an equitable manner." The committee recognizes clearly that all programs of political, social and economic reform are crippled by racial discrimination. Where the South most needs leaders of vision and integrity, it finds itself saddled with the Rankins, Longs and Talmadges. But we have too much faith in the South to believe that it will long endure such leadership.

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Histrionics on the River Plate

Political opposition to the Peronista regime is extremely risky business these days in Argentina. You may lose your job, or be branded as a "traitor," or be marked for liquidation should internal conflict occur. The latter is not so improbable as it sounds, even in this relatively peaceful Western hemisphere. Resentful Argentinians do not easily forget Señor Perón's hysterical speech of September 8 at Sante Fé, in the course of which the President assured opponents that his voice "will not tremble on the day I order them all to be hanged." The offending citizens are chiefly those who criticize the regime for curtailing legislative freedom or who question publicly Perón's plans for amending the Constitution (Cf Am. 9/18). But Perón's obsession with political opposition extends beyond Argentine borders. He, or his advisors. apparently thought it well to involve foreigners in an alleged plot against the President's life. John F. Griffith, former cultural attaché to the U.S. Embassy, has been designated by Perón as "an international spy unfit to be an American citizen." Such language, coming as it does on top of the Sante Fé speech and a long series of illconcealed Peronista attacks upon foreign newspaper correspondents, is simply obnoxious to the democratic world.

U.S. reactions to Perón

The official United States attitude is one of calculated coldness. No message of congratulation was sent to Perón on the occasion of his "escape" from the plot. Thus was indicated not indifference to his personal safety, but weariness with his diatribes. Our Government wants friendly relations with Argentina, as can be judged from Ambassador James Bruce's hasty return to his post after the latest "anti-Yanqui" uproar. We would also see better trade relations, but the current newspaper attacks upon U.S. "capitalism" and upon Wall Street are more reminiscent of Pravda than of a free press. It is instructive to note that Hora, Argentine communist paper, has reportedly caught the spirit of the game and escapes repression by directing its attacks not against Perón but against the "capitalist" giant to the North. Far-seeing Argentine Catholics perceive the danger involved in allowing themselves to be associated with the intemperate Peronista regime. Some, fortunately, speak out with courage in behalf of liberty. At times they are rewarded with arrest for their pains. But ultimately, we hope, Christian social principles will prevail. When they do, a freer Argentine will have a contribution to make to world reconstruction.

U.S. note to Bulgaria

Ever since the Government of postwar Bulgaria openly chose the road to despotism, Russian-style, its relations with the United States have been tenuous in the extreme. Only a few weeks ago the Sofia puppets succeeded in "framing" U.S. Vice Consul Donald F. Ewing, accusing him of "espionage activities" in connection with two alleged Bulgarian opponents of the communist regime. However, what actually spurred the U.S. Government to issue a blistering indictment of Bulgaria's communist regime was the "systematic and ruthless" obliteration of democracy, contrary to provisions of the Bulgarian Peace Treaty. Replying to a speech by Foreign Minister Vassil Kolarov of Bulgaria, who blamed this country for Bulgaria's failure to qualify for UN membership, our Department of State deemed it necessary to clarify its position regarding this Balkan satellite of Soviet Russia. The official note was delivered to the Sofia government on September 24. In it the State Department denied the Bulgarian Foreign Minister's contention that his country has "scrupulously" fulfilled its obligations under the peace treaty. "On the contrary," stated the note, "from the very moment it signed the treaty the Bulgarian Government has prosecuted a systematic and ruthless campaign to obliterate democratic opposition, in direct disregard of the fundamental principles of freedom which it undertook by Article 2 to secure." The note recalled the "judicial murder" of Nikola Petkov, executed in September, 1947; the denial of information regarding the size of Bulgaria's army, as provided by the treaty; and, finally, the proved support given by Sofia to Greek rebels. While Bulgaria is ruled by a handful of Moscowtrained agents, it cannot expect to find genuine friends among the nations of the West. The captive Bulgarian people, of course, cannot be blamed for the ruthless and

irresponsible actions of their foreign rulers, as the U.S. note points out. How freedom-loving they remain appears in "A letter from Bulgaria," p. 11, this issue.

Death of an apostate

The tragedy of Ukrainian Catholics has again come to world attention, this time through a laconic communiqué concerning the murder of Gabriel Kostelnyk, Soviet-made bishop of the Orthodox diocese of Lvov. The communist paper of Kiev, Pravda Ukrainy, first announced his death, and the report coming from Moscow quotes the All-Russian Patriarch Alexei as saying that the alleged murderer was a "Ukrainian nationalist bourgeois, underground agent of the Roman Pope." Letters of condolence were published in the Kiev paper from the little-known Ioan, Patriarch of Ukraine and Metropolitan of Kiev, describing Bishop Kostelnyk as the "first who dared raise the banner of struggle against the Vatican." "To Kostelnyk," declared Patriarch Ioan, "belonged the first honor and sacred historic merit in the merger of the Greek-Uniate Church with the Russian Orthodox Church" and the Patriarch reiterated the Russian intention of continuing "the defense of the propagation of Holy Orthodoxy . . . with strong faith in the full victory of Orthodoxy over papist machinations and the evil deeds of their hirelings, the Ukraino-German nationalists."

Background of assassination

The case of Kostelnyk is closely related to the progressive destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Shortly after the Russians occupied all territory east of the Curzon Line at the close of World War II, the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy was imprisoned and deported to parts unknown in Soviet Russia. Suddenly Kostelnyk, a priest, was released from a Lvov prison and began frantic agitation for the introduction of Orthodoxy into Western Ukraine. Only forty-three Ukrainian priests out of an estimated 3,000 joined the Kostelnyk committee. This puppet group promptly demanded suppression of the Brest Union of 1596. In the summer of 1945, some 300 Catholic priests, as yet unarrested, gathered in St. George Cathedral of Lvov to denounce Kostelnyk as an apostate and a traitor of his people. At the time that Kostelnyk was nominated an Orthodox bishop, Ukrainian Catholics were undergoing cruel persecutions (cf. the encyclical Orientales Omnes Ecclesias of Pius XII, Dec. 23, 1945). Subsequently, the Ukrainian Catholic Church ceased to exist. Kostelnyk's whereabouts were known only to the Soviet MVD, which guarded him constantly. Reports of his assassination by the Ukrainian underground should be taken with some reservations. He had served his purpose. The MVD might well have got rid of him.

Reds score big gains in China

The capture of Tsinan, capital of Shantung Province, by Chinese communist armies on Sept. 25, apparently marks the long-heralded and all-out offensive against the government forces. The seriousness of Chiang Kai-shek's

position is now beyond doubt. Defense of Tsinan had tied down large communist forces in Shantung Province, thus reducing the direct threat to Suchow, an important military base guarding the approaches to Nanking from the north. There are only two major centers in Shantung Province: Tsingtao, where the U.S. Seventh Fleet is based, and Chefoo. With Tsinan in communist hands, the rail communications, stretching westward from central Shantung into central Shansi, are at the disposal of the Red forces. Tsinan's collapse enables the Communists to consolidate their positions in "liberated areas" of the North. Immediately after their victory in Shantung, the Communists launched a vigorous drive for control of the west Liaoning rail corridor in Manchuria. A full-scale battle is now in progress along a hundred-mile front above and below Chinhsien, aerial supply base for isolated Mukden. Meanwhile, in Nanking, the Government of Chiang Kai-shek has acknowledged the loss of Tsinan and declared that large reinforcements are being rushed to threatened areas. Few, if any, observers, however, hope that the communist tide can be effectively stopped now, short of substantial military aid from outside China. The urgency of aid to China is further highlighted by reports of communist successes elsewhere in the Orient. Indonesia-object of this month's mission intentionexperiences bloody revolt, instigated by the CP. The Indonesian Republican Government, which spent its forces quarreling with the Dutch, now fully realizes the gravity of the danger, perhaps too late. In that island country, as in Burma and Malaya, the Kremlin agents follow the same pattern: encourage internal strife, disrupt economic life, then capitalize on the situation to obtain political power. In China this has meant longdrawn-out civil war. We can expect the same throughout Southeast Asia.

NEPH Week

Since 1945, by an act of the 79th Congress, the week of October 3-9 has been known as National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week. Among the many demands on our attention, this one deserves special consideration, especially by employers. It was estimated by the Department of Labor that in June, 1948 a half-million physically handicaped persons already in the labor force were looking for new jobs, and that several hundred thousand more, all war veterans, were being trained for a variety of employment and would sooner or later be seeking jobs. All told, there are about one million physically handicapped persons in the country, not now in the labor force, who could be profitably rehabilitated if opportunities for gainful employment were available. Though considerable progress has been made in recent years, both in providing necessary training for the handicapped and in breaking down prejudice against their employment, the figures cited above indicate that much remains to be done. In cooperation with the Veterans Administration, the Department of Labor recently completed a two-year study of the work records of 11,000 handicapped workers in 109 plants. These researches revealed, to the surprise of some employers, that the handicapped were just as stable and reliable as other workers and, when properly placed, more efficient. As we become familiar with facts like these, and in general realize that the full use of the capacities of the handicapped brings precious benefits to employers and the entire community, it will not be necessary to observe NEPH Week. Until then, we ought to assist the many agencies, public and private, which are devoted to the promotion of this fine cause.

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The time is out of joint

When it was announced in Ankara, Turkey, on September 27, that the Rumanian Ambassador had died of eating poisonous mushrooms, newspaper correspondents must have felt that now they had heard everything. Five 'phone calls to the Embassy confirmed the news. Yes, the Ambassador was dead. Yes, it was mushrooms. The body would be returned to Bucharest. Then it came out that the body was still walking around in Turkey, with no intention of going back to Bucharest, or anywhere else behind the Iron Curtain. Another diplomat had "walked out" on the Soviets. Very poor timing, Comrades.

Ballots and box offices

This business of elections, said the Thoughtful Observer, who had just been registering in PS 165, makes me wonder why people keep on knocking Hollywood. Not that I propose, of course, to abolish criticism of the movie-makers. Knocking Hollywood is one of those institutions in our national life that one does not sweep away until he sees clearly what is to replace it. That would be revolution for the mere sake of revolution, which is always bad. My idea is rather that the knockers should extend their activities far beyond Hollywood. That is why, said the T.O., lighting his pipe in defiance of the local ordinances-he was still standing on the steps of PS 165, and therefore on public-school premises, where smoking is forbidden-that is why I take off my hat to Cardinal Stritch of Chicago for what he said to the Theatre Owners of America. Why criticize Hollywood, asked the Cardinal, and continue to exhibit its more malodorous products in your theatres? (There was a time, explained the T.O., when the theatre owner had little to say about some of the films he got from Hollywood; but that is changed.) So the Cardinal put it very plainly to the theatre owners in convention assembled that knocking Hollywood was no longer an alibi for them. They choose the films; they hang out the sexy advertising; theirs is the responsibility to their community. And that, said the T.O., beating up to windward of his subject, is where this election business comes in. For, in the last analysis, films are the people's choice. No one is dragooning them into the local theatre. Some years ago, when they started staying away from the movies in droves, under the inspiration of the Legion of Decency, Hollywood underwent a great change of heart largely owing to a great lack of change in the box offices. The price of good movies, concluded the T.O. (who can turn a phrase as neatly as the next man), is eternal vigilance.

Washington Front

This is written aboard Gov. Thomas E. Dewey's train as he moves eastward after a swing to the Pacific Coast. It is plain after this continent-crossing that unless the public-opinion polls show a shift away from Mr. Dewey toward President Truman, the election campaign will be a rather anemic clambake indeed. Mr. Dewey is rated in front now, and so long as that helds he probably will run his campaign on a play-it-safe basis. What he doesn't say he will not have to retract later. If he can avoid taking a clear stand on disputed issues which may alienate political affections, then—as some of his strategists see it—that is the thing to do.

President Truman has been thrashing about trying to needle the Republican nominee into a cutting-and-gouging exchange. He claims Mr. Dewey talks only in vague terms. The President told one Western audience that this election is a championship fight and that Americans do not like to see a championship won "running away." Yet so far, save for occasional thrusts of ridicule or sarcasm employed without mention of Mr. Truman's name, Mr. Dewey has seemed to pay no attention.

The President has made the Republican-bossed Eightieth Congress his chief target of attack. Mr. Dewey has adopted some few points of the record of this Congress for proud reference at the whistle stops, and he has embraced numerous Republican Congressmen who climbed aboard his train as he crossed the country. Some were men with isolationist records which conflict with the Governor's own expressed beliefs on foreign policy matters. It may be that Mr. Dewey regards the Republican party as one big, happy family in which reform can come later where necessary. Mr. Dewey has yet to make any point-by-point defense of the Congress in answer to the Truman attacks, and it is a good bet that he will not attempt this.

Is there a danger that a generalized Dewey campaign, in which the candidate does not spell out plainly his ideas for meeting difficult national problems, could be carried so far as to bring a public reaction which would be to Mr. Truman's benefit in November? Nobody has quite the answer to that one. The Dewey forces will try to guard against it, of course.

Neither Mr. Dewey nor Mr. Truman has generated any overwhelming enthusiasm on the West Coast. Mr. Dewey's crowds have been fair in size and response, but he has had no such tumultuous welcomes as came in 1940 to Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie—or, for that matter, such as he himself met in 1944. The public may get excited in the final days of the campaign, but more people now seem taken up with that other world issue—the World Series.

CHARLES LUCEY

Underscorings

One fine day in 1798, shortly before the turn of the century, John Carroll, first U.S. Catholic bishop, traveled down from Baltimore to bless the cornerstone of the new St. Ignatius Church, on the Jesuit manor property of St. Thomas in Charles County, Maryland. In the stately Manor House adjacent (built 1741) the clergy meetings were held which led to the first diocesan organization of the United States; and the little chapel between the two buildings, built about 1662, was a silent witness to early American Catholicism's long struggle for religious liberty, just as the new church, with its colonial pews and meeting-house galleries, reminds us of liberty's ultimate triumph. On Sept. 26 of this year Washington's new Archbishop, Most Reverend Patrick A. Boyle, presided over a picturesque sesquicentennial celebration at this historic spot, and the Rev. John Tracy Ellis of the Catholic University of America delivered the principal address. This was the inauguration of St. Thomas' Manor and its church as a national shrine of the Catholic Church in America.

► Eighty-eight Chinese students have been placed in forty Catholic colleges and universities in the United States on scholarships obtained through the efforts of Rev. John T. Mao, chancellor to Archbishop Yu-Pin of Nanking. We are reminded by this announcement of two Catholic students from India, attending a non-Catholic university, who came to us seeking Catholic contacts. There must be many such foreign students with us these days; and bringing them into contact with American Catholic life would be a fine apostolate for our university towns.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews (381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.) announces the sixth annual Religious Book Week, Oct. 24-31. Thirty-five titles have been chosen specifically for Catholics, Jews and Protestants; and thirty-five more for a "good-will list." Catholic titles include: The Catholic Reader, edited by Charles A. Brady; The Catholic Church Today, by Cardinal Suhard of Paris; Communism and the Conscience of the West, by Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen; The First Freedom, by Wilfrid Parsons, S. J. For Catholic children there are, among others, God Died at Three O'Clock, by Gerald T. Brennan, and Hunters of Souls, by Sister Mary Jean Dorcy.

The Superior Court of Pennsylvania is being called upon to decide whether an Orthodox Jewish woman has been illegally denied unemployment compensation because she refused to accept employment which would have required her, in violation of her conscience, to work on the Sabbath. And up in Maine, the State's Attorney General has been asked by one Frank C. Hughes to rule that Bible reading and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in the public schools is "illegal and dangerous." There is yet time for our courts to declare that freedom of conscience is also the prerogative of those who believe in

Editorials

Russian impasse

The publication of the State Department's "White Paper" on September 27 enables us to understand why Moscow correspondents of American newspapers oscillated between hope and despair in the reports they sent home during the course of negotiations throughout August.

When the Russians closed all railroad passenger and freight traffic, as well as barge traffic, to Berlin via the Berlin-Helmstedt line on June 23, they gave as their excuse "technical difficulties." This excuse was never plausible, because on April 3 they had closed the Hamburg-Berlin and the Bavarian Berlin railway routes, forcing all our traffic to use the Berlin-Helmstedt line. Their June 23 action was therefore an obvious attempt to cut the one remaining avenue between the Western zones of Germany and our Berlin sectors. It was, as the "White Paper" makes abundantly clear, the final step in the Russian strategy to squeeze us out of Berlin and absorb the former German capital into the Russian zone.

Throughout the negotiations, and specifically in our note of July 6, we hammered home our claim to a strict right to be in Berlin, for the following reasons:

1. Our rights as a joint occupying Power were derived from the unconditional surrender of Germany and from Four-Power agreements defining the four zones and establishing quadripartite control of Germany "on a basis of friendly cooperation." "These agreements," we insisted, "implied the right of free access to Berlin."

2. "This right has long been confirmed by usage." The Russians never questioned it for nearly two years.

3. Moreover, on June 14, 1945 President Truman "directly specified" this right in a message to Marshal Stalin, in which we agreed to withdraw our troops, which had penetrated deep into Saxony and Thuringia in the Soviet zone, to within our own zone. Mr. Truman offered to take this action only "provided satisfactory arrangements could be entered into between the military commanders which would give free access by rail, road and air to United States forces in Berlin." Stalin suggested a change in date but "no other alteration in the plan proposed by the President."

4. Perhaps the most conclusive evidence of our equal right to access to Berlin is that Russia's only right to be there herself is based on these same agreements.

5. We have insisted that Berlin is an *international* zone of occupation, and that Russia is treating it as part of the Soviet zone—a claim openly made for the first time by the Russians in their note of July 14.

6. The responsibility we have for 2.4 million Berliners was undertaken "at the request of the Soviet Government on July 7, 1945."

Russia at first did not come out with a flat denial of

our juridical contentions. She tried to blur the issue by alleging "technical reasons" as her excuse for closing rail traffic to us. But our negotiators, chiefly Ambassador Smith, smoked them out. Since July 14 they have openly denied our right to be in Berlin. They have never questioned the inference that if we had a right to be there, we also had a right to free access.

This raises the query: on what grounds do they now contend that we have "lost" our rights in Berlin?

On July 14 the Russian "openly admitted that the blockade was in effect retaliation against actions of Western Powers in their own occupation zones in Germany." These actions were: currency reform in the Western zones, including our Berlin sectors; the economic unification of the Western zones; and the setting up of the beginnings of a unified German government in those zones. The Kremlin contends that this "dismemberment of Germany" violated the Yalta and Potsdam agreements as well as the agreement of the Four Powers concerning the control mechanism in Germany, set up to demilitarize and democratize that country. "They thereby undermined the legal basis which assured their right to participation in the administration of Berlin."

To understand our position we must place it in its historical setting. The whole trouble, of course, goes back to Russia's determination to communize, first Greece and Trieste, and then Italy and France. It goes back even farther to Russia's violation of the Yalta Agreement by making satellites of Poland and the Balkan states. It goes back to our charge that she violated the Potsdam Agreement by taking reparations out of current production in Germany and by blocking the economic unification of the Germans. Our actions were all dejensive. Whenever we take action to thwart further Russian aggression, she takes more aggressive action, using our defensive measures as an excuse.

The Moscow negotiations broke down, not over currency reform or East-West trade (on both of which we were willing to compromise), but because we refused to "negotiate" to be tolerated where we have every right to be-in Berlin. The price of lifting the blockade was to give Russia complete control of currency and trade. The amazing development in the negotiations was that Stalin on August 23 agreed to a satisfactory basis on which the military governors of Berlin could iron out the currency and trade problems, though he reversed his earlier position on the setting up of a Western German Government; that Molotov reversed himself on currency reform on August 27, becoming more intransigent; and that when the Moscow directive was sent to Marshal Sokolovsky in Berlin, he tore it to pieces. So when the Kremlin on September 25 supported Sokolovsky to the hilt, the futile game was over.

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The decision of the U. S. to join in haling the USSR before the Security Council marks a revolutionary change in our policy toward the organization for which we have been so largely responsible. In line with that change, our entire foreign policy will need readjustment. We have based that policy, as we have insisted repeatedly during the three turbulent years of UN existence, squarely upon the Charter; if any actions of ours appeared to by-pass the UN, we hastened to bring them into at least verbal conformity with its provisions. It is true that we took our recent drastic step at Paris in the name of the Charter, but few can doubt that it is in effect a repudiation of the UN as an effective force for peace.

For the deepest meaning of our recent move is that it is our formal and official abandonment of the fundamental theory which the Big Five imposed on the small nations at San Francisco, the theory that peace depends on the unanimity, not of all nations, as the League contended, but on the unanimity of the states strong enough to wage modern war. This theory depended on a basic assumption about the way it would be put into practice. It was predicated on the assumption, which all history made questionable, that the Big Five would fulfill in good faith the obligations they assumed under the Charter, especially their undertaking "to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force. . . ." This assumption rested in turn upon the most fundamental and indispensable assumption of all, that the great nations would be able to trust one another, at least to the extent necessary to make the UN work.

Upon that theory and those assumptions was erected an organization which passed as a collective security system, but which was in reality little more than an extension of a war-time coalition of five great Powers, hidden behind an animated façade of small Power social and economic activity. "The Security Council provisions," wrote the U. S. Catholic bishops on November 18, 1945, "make it no more than a virtual alliance of the great Powers for the maintenance of peace."

The action of the Western Powers at Paris has torn the last bit of bunting from the underpinnings of the UN and have revealed just how frail were the supports provided by the so-called "principle of unanimity"; and the Assembly speeches of Bevin, Spaak and Schuman, plus the damningly detailed documentation of Soviet duplicity contained in the U. S. White Paper, give shocking evidence of the extent to which fear, suspicion and distrust had eaten into those flimsy foundations.

The action at Paris expresses the final disillusionment of the Western Members of the Sacred Five. For three years they clung desperately to the hope that the war alliance retained its reality, and that Russia might yet be cajoled or jockeyed into cooperation. (Their spokesmen at Paris still call for Russian cooperation, as Premier Spaak did so eloquently, but their action against Russia clearly implies the real truth, that they have given up hope of her cooperation.) The same spokesmen have

made it painfully clear that their distrust of Russia is based not only upon her actions, but chiefly upon the essential immorality of her communist philosophy.

Since the United States has formally acknowledged that the assumptions upon which the UN depends are no longer tenable, must we not seek at once new means of ensuring peace? In this crisis no half measures will suffice. No tinkering with the veto can repair the United Nations now. The Soviets will cling more tenaciously than ever to the paralyzing power they now wield.

We suggest that the United States, while helping to keep the UN intact as a diplomatic meeting place, move with speed and vigor to consummate a regional security pact under articles 51 and 52 of the Charter. We have already implicitly promised the West European nations that we would help them if they worked out effective plans for self-help and mutual aid. Five of them reported on September 28 that they have done so. On the same day it was reported from Washington that military aid to those countries will be one of the first proposals to Congress next January. Is it wise to wait so long? The crisis in Europe appears to be almost as grave as it was in the fateful fall of 1940, when the two Presidential candidates, Roosevelt and Willkie, came to bipartisan agreement on methods of coping with it. Both President Truman and Governor Dewey have approved the Vandenberg-Lovett resolution with its implicit promise of military aid.

Why not issue at once a joint statement that the one who is elected will take immediate action to implement that promise? Our friends in Europe need that assurance now, and our enemies that warning.

Will there be atomic war?

Wars have been started upon much less provocation than was offered by the speeches of Marshall, Bevin, Spaak and Vishinsky in the opening days of the General Assembly. The lie direct was exchanged between sovereign Powers. What then? Are we simply to await the onset of the "black fury" of atomic warfare?

The plan for international control of atomic energy offered by the United States and accepted in substance by all members of the United Nations outside the Soviet sphere supposed a minimum of confidence and cooperation between nations. Even that minimum the Soviets have never shown. Two weary years of discussions in the UN Atomic Energy Commission have proved that to a demonstration. The nations of the West, therefore, have the problem of preventing an atomic war without Soviet cooperation. Since there is no disposition in the Western nations to make war on Russia, the problem becomes one of preventing Russia from making war on the West. We say "preventing"; for it would be a tragedy if our planning were to confine itself merely to the winning of an atomic war. Nobody really wins such a war.

The problem is discussed by Prof. Bernard Brodie of Yale in the October, 1948 issue of *Foreign Affairs* ("The Atom Bomb as Policy Maker"). There are three ways, he points out, of averting war: conciliation, appearament

and great military superiority. The first way, the classic way of the diplomats, supposes a certain fund of common values between the parties to the dispute, certain principles of humanity and fair dealing to which they all subscribe, or, at least, which they are not willing openly to repudiate. That might be called the way of honorable concession. The second, appeasement, has been shown to be the way of concession without honor, without profit and ultimately without peace.

There remains the way of military superiority—of deterring the potential attacker by making the attack so costly as to outweigh any conceivable advantage he may seek from it. The atomic bomb makes it possible to strike swift and crippling blows at the opponent's centers of military production, cutting off the essential supplies without which his armies and navies are comparatively useless. But this blow will not be struck unless it can destroy all or nearly all the bomb-production centers and destroy as well the existing stock of bombs and the planes that can deliver them.

Even if the Soviets succeed in making a stockpile of atomic bombs, they will be understandably reluctant to attack a United States, or a united West, which has a greatly superior number of bombs and a stronger air force, dispersed over widely separated bases, from which retaliatory blows could be swiftly struck even though the mainland were temporarily crippled. Moreover, as Professor Brodie points out, while the communist dialectic may declare that war between Russia and the West is "inevitable," there is nothing in that dialectic to make it inevitable in our time. Our uneasy road to peace may lie in convincing the Soviets in each recurrent crisis that the "inevitable" hour has not yet struck.

Morals and natural resources

"Freedom from want is changing from a hope to a pipe dream," declared one speaker at the recent centennial meeting in Washington of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Now the wide disparity between ideal and world productive capacity is felt nowhere so keenly as in the realm of food. With all our efforts at postwar reconstruction we have not met the need. Even in talking of return to pre-war production levels, there is an illusory element, for the world's population has been increasing at approximately one per cent a year in the meanwhile.

Yet, despite the urgent need of greater output, man continues to abuse the very resources from which most of his food actually comes, namely soil and water. It were folly to regard "freedom from want" as proximately attainable under such circumstances. If that goal is realizable, it will only be so when conservation and development of food-producing resources are extensively practised over the surface of the globe. So far, that day still seems remote. It must be hastened if millions are not to die of hunger within a matter of decades.

These days, such statements invite controversy. No sooner are they uttered than planned-parenthooders hastily intrude themselves with offers of contraception

as the way out of the dilemma. But this is no reason why we should dismiss the whole discussion as so much birth-control propaganda. That would be to solve the problem by denying its existence. But neither is the contrary approach entirely realistic. You do not refute scientifically established facts by moralizing that misses the heart of the matter. Nor do you bludgeon your way out of the dilemmas nature poses by recourse to unethical means. True science and good morals are in conflict only when extravagant proponents of either make them so.

The scientists in Washington — among whom in this particular discussion Dr. Fairfield Osborn, of Our Plundered Planet fame, stood out — sought to explain what is happening. Within three centuries, the earth's population has increased from 400 million to over two billion. At present rates of increase, presupposing continued medical care, the number may be three billion by the century's end. That is a lot of people to feed.

Yet against this ascending population curve there stands out the descending curve of land resources. Instead of carefully conserving the four billion acres of cultivated lands the world now has, and developing more through reclamation and irrigation, we annually permit topsoil from millions of acres to wash down to the sea or blow off in the wind. Such a practice cannot long continue without the effect being felt on a world-wide basis. Actually, in most of the Orient and increasingly in Europe it is already felt. High rates of productivity in the United States presently give our favored nation a false sense of security. Memories are short. We forget the disastrous floods, the dust storms, the burned-out hillsides.

Science today sounds a warning of approaching peril. It was science, of course, that provided the mechanized means for hastening destruction by resource exploitation on an extractive rather than a conservation basis. But it is scientism, or a warped attitude toward scientific knowledge, which prevents many moderns from heeding the warning of the sociological scientists who bid us mend our ways while time remains.

In this matter of conservation, the materially minded still think in terms of the nineteenth century. When the soil is gone, and with it capacity for food production, "science," they say, will discover new methods of extricating us from our man-made misery. Some practising Christians talk that way, too. They expose the errors of the neo-Malthusians on the subject of contraception but avoid responsibility for seeing that the world's resources are kept at a point where new-born babies can look forward to enough to eat.

In this business of resource development, the Christian conscience must take the lead. A mere flight from the problem will not fill empty mouths. Rather it would indicate failure to shoulder Christian responsibility for aiding in the redemption of the temporal. But the far-seeing Christian with his feet on the earth realizes that bringing morals into the use of our resources and our treatment of the life cycle is about as urgent as resisting communism or outlawing war. In fact all three are not without connection, as reflection will show.

New horizon of industrial relations

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"As never before in this country, what the Federal Government does is a matter of grave . . . concern to all economic groups. . . . The spirit of class struggle, which has been a

part of the capitalist system from the beginning, is now threatening to overflow into politics."

this country which will do away with the spirit of class warfare, strengthen the economic basis of our democracy and reflect the Christian faith which even today a majority of our people profess, it will be men like Frank Brown and Sam Smith who will do the job.

But to go on with the story. Frank Brown was not always what he is today. Scarcely disposed by temperament and background to look kindly on trade unions, he succeeded for many years—by means not always above criticism—in keeping them off his premises. And men who knew Sam Smith back in the early 'thirties can scarcely believe their eyes when they look at him today. Then he was a super-militant young labor leader ready at the drop of a hat to battle with the bosses, all of whom he regarded as evil and designing men and his personal enemies. Now the newspapers pay him their biggest compliment. They refer occasionally to Sam as a labor statesman.

Before they were able to sit down together and talk like civilized human beings, Frank Brown and Sam Smith had to learn a good many things. They had to unlearn, and forget, even more. Through a period of ugly strife, they advanced to a twilight zone that was neither peace nor war, but a kind of unwritten truce based on healthy respect for each other's power. During this time, which lasted for several years, being thrown together in the line of duty, Frank and Sam came to know something of one another. With increasing knowledge, belligerency gradually gave way to a chilly, correct politeness, which masked old suspicions but did not destroy them. Finally-and neither Frank nor Sam knows exactly how it happened-they came to respect one another, and from respect were quickly born mutual trust and confidence. Once this stage was reached, the two men set to work rearing a structure of labor-management relations which is praised and envied throughout American industry.

The reader will understand, then, what a surprise it was when Frank wrote to me the other day saying that, though he still respected Sam, he had come to entertain some doubts about him. Sam, it seems, had written an article sharply critical of certain features of what Frank fondly calls the American system of free, competitive enterprise, even going so far as to say that unless the tycoons put their house in order, labor would demand a big expansion of government ownership. Sam mentioned the coal, steel and petroleum industries, to start with, and threw in the railroads for good measure. The profit motive was all right, he concluded, provided it did not doom, as it was threatening to do, the workers to perpetual insecurity.

What hurt Frank most about the article, which he discovered accidentally in a labor paper, was its seeming

Several weeks ago Dr. Clark Kerr and Roger Randell, of the University of California's Institute of Industrial Relations, submitted to the National Planning Association a report on industrial relations in the West Coast pulp and paper industry. This is the remarkable industry, embracing eighteen companies-of which the largest is the Crown Zellerbach Corporation-and two AFL unions, the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers and the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, which has not had a strike for fourteen years. How explain this record of uninterrupted peace during a time when many other sectors of American industry have been convulsed with war? Why do the unions involved feel secure-except from attacks by other unions, which, the investigators found, have been encouraged by the Taft-Hartley Act? And why do the managements of these companies have confidence in the unions and work cooperatively with them? What does the West Coast pulp and paper industry have which other industries so lamentably lack?

The National Planning Association, which is a non-profit organization built on functional lines—agriculture, business, labor and the professions all being represented—decided to find out. It decided to find out, too, what lay behind good labor-management relations in fourteen other industries, on the sensible theory that heretofore altogether too much attention has been given to industrial strife and not nearly enough to the ingredients of industrial peace. The study of the West Coast pulp and paper industry is the first, then, in a series which will be made by experts in the course of the next three years.

While giving the most generous praise to this project, which is certain to have a constructive influence on labor-management relations, I do not believe that the complete answer to the problem of industrial peace can be found on the company, or even on the industry, level. True, much that is essential to sound industrial relations can and must be done there; but even if all American companies had the understanding, efficiency and good will which apparently characterize the officials of Crown Zellerbach in their dealings with labor, and if all unions were as ably and honestly led as those with which the corporation deals, we should still fall short of our objective—an industrial society in which labor and management collaborate as equals for their mutual advantage and for the well-being of the rest of us.

Let me illustrate this skepticism by telling a story about two friends of mine—the one an industrialist whom we shall call Frank Brown, and the other a labor leader whose real name is not Sam Smith. For both these gentlemen the writer has the highest respect—for their intelligence, their integrity, even more for their ideals. If we are ever to develop a system of industrial relations in

ingratitude. He had come a long way in his thinking about industrial relations; he had swallowed his pride and made sacrifices; ke had cooperated with the union so wholeheartedly that some of his fellow employers crossed the street when they saw him coming. On more than one occasion, Sam had expressed satisfaction with the corporation. Only a few months ago, in fact, he had said that the last contract he initialed with Frank was the best one the union had, that his life would be pleasant, indeed, if there were more Browns in American industry and fewer Tom Girdlers and Sewell Averys. Now here he was attacking the whole system and threatening employers with what looked like a socialist club!

Well, one night soon after this Frank and I sat down for a leisurely talk, and I think I was able to reassure him somewhat. At any rate, he no longer feels that Sam is ungrateful, or suspects his sincerity. He recognizes the difference that has arisen to threaten their collaboration for what it is—an honest intellectual difference. He remains determined to work with Sam; he intends to push collaboration as far as it will go. But he is worried. He is worried because a new element has entered into his calculations. He thought before that he could settle the problem of industrial relations within the bounds of his company, the way he had broken a distribution bottleneck some years ago. Now he is not so sure. He is not so sure that any corporation, no matter how big, can settle it.

What happened at our tête à tête was this. I asked Frank whom he intended to vote for in November. He answered, "Dewey." Was it not true, I suggested, that he had voted for Dewey in '44, for Willkie in '40, for Landon in '36? Frank nodded affirmatively. I pointed out, then, that Sam had voted for Roosevelt during all those years and was supporting Truman this time. I asked him whether he saw any significance in this for his industrial relations.

Frank took his time thinking that one over. He snuffed out a cigaret; then lit a fresh one.

"I suppose," he answered finally, "that Sam feels his interests will be safer with the Democrats, and I feel mine will be safer with the GOP. Of course," he added with a grin, "we both feel that what is good for us is good for the country."

Having expressed agreement with this answer, I pointed out that in his political preferences Sam was fairly typical of labor leaders, just as Frank was fairly typical of businessmen. A poll of the membership of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, I hazarded, would reveal overwhelming sentiment for the Dewey-Warren ticket, whereas practically all the labor leaders in the country, except the Communists and fellow travelers in the CIO and a few mavericks like William Hutcheson and John Lewis, are already campaigning for Mr. Truman. "Is not this tremendously enlightening?" I asked Frank "Does it not reveal that, despite harmonious relations on the plant level between many employers and union leaders, there exists a great, fundamental difference between them which prevents full trust and understanding?"

When Frank conceded the point, not without reluctance, I suggested that we investigate the nature of this difference. "Why is it, do you suppose," I began, "that Sam supports Truman and you back Dewey? It cannot be foreign policy, since you both favor rearmament in the face of Soviet aggression and approve the European Recovery Program. Therefore, it must be domestic policy which divides you. It must be taxes and government spending, minimum wages and social security, inflation and controls, housing and the Taft-Hartley Act."

As a matter of fact, I had no hesitation in telling him, that is what it is. On almost every economic measure that came before the 79th and 80th Congresses, labor and management took opposite sides. One can see this clearly in the conflicting testimony offered on various bills by the AFL and CIO on the one side and the business groups on the other. As never before in this country, what the Federal Government does is a matter of grave and immediate concern to all economic groups. Since the groups do not see eye to eye on many matters, each



one wants an Administration and a Congress friendly to its interests. Hence, the political differences which sharply divide industrialists and labor leaders reveal that, despite considerable progress in collective bargaining, and very friendly relations in some cases, they do not agree on the broad issues which con-

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front the economy as a whole. The spirit of class struggle, which has been a part of the capitalist system from the beginning, is now threatening to overflow into politics. Walter Reuther is not the only labor leader who is thinking of a new party for 1952.

To all of this Frank listened with heroic patience. "Why," he said at last, more in sadness than in anger, "can't the labor leaders go along with us? After all, our system of free enterprise has given workers the highest standard of living in the world. It can do still better if given a fair chance."

Without doubt, I assented, our workers enjoy a higher standard of living than do the workers of any other country. Responsible labor leaders do not deny this, nor do they deny the possibility of further progress. But they are not overly impressed by comparisons with other countries. What they live with day after day is the exasperating conviction that, were it not for the refusal of employers to break new ground, our workers could have a much fuller life than is now the case.

More specifically, labor leaders are concerned with security. They point to the regular recurrence of depressions and the periodic mass unemployment which results, and they charge that employers as a group are not sufficiently concerned with the problem. Labor leaders refuse to regard the boom-bust cycle as a price which must be paid for a free economy. Whether rightly or wrongly, they are firmly persuaded that management, by adopting proper wage, price and profit policies, can do a great deal that is not now being done to level the peaks and valleys, and that what management cannot do, the Government can. They charge that under the present system employers are essentially irresponsible, because they are concerned almost exclusively with maximizing profits. To this goal they subordinate everything else, including the national economic well-being. Labor leaders say that the only interest the average employer has in the boombust cycle lies in gambling correctly on its unpredictable oscillations.

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"Well," Frank interjected, "what do they expect us to do? If I don't show a profit, Sam's loyal, dues-paying members will be out of jobs."

Sam knows this very well, I replied. He is not opposed to profits. But he does not think that you and your brother industrialists are sufficiently concerned about creating and maintaining conditions in the whole economy which will be favorable to business—and profits. Under the present set-up, you can do very little, no matter how well you conduct your own business, to avoid a depression. Sam wants to know what plans you have for changing the set-up. At the moment he is a little

bitter—probably that is why he wrote that article—because he feels that employers as a group are greedily riding a war-generated wave of inflation for all its worth; that their wage-price-profit policies are preparing the way for the next bust. And don't talk to him about the automatic, untouchable law of supply and demand. Some of his people are working only three days a week right now because textile mills, faced with shrinking demand at present price levels, are cutting production, not prices.

It was at this point in our talk that Frank said he was beginning to understand Sam's motives in writing the article, and that he felt better about it. But he would have to take more time to think all these things over. Maybe, he admitted, the problem of industrial relations is bigger than he thought. Maybe, but he was not sure.

I added one last word. I suggested that while Frank was thinking this over he ask himself how he would like to see political parties in this country organized on class lines. If industry does not meet the challenge which Sam and other labor leaders are raising, I warned, this unwelcome development is what probably lies ahead of us.

G. Rilov is the pen name of a Bulgarian-born American

A letter from Bulgaria

citizen whose family has taken an active interest in American cultural institutions in the Near East since their foundation.

The author of the letter which he here

G. Rilov

The author of the letter which he here makes public has since met his death in communist-controlled Bulgaria,

Some time ago the following letter was smuggled out of Bulgaria through channels which cannot be mentioned, and was mailed in Switzerland to the addressee, living in the United States.

This letter is invaluable, because it was written by a native of Bulgaria, in the country itself, and under the greatest tension. The writer had only a few hours for typing the document, as immediately afterwards it had to be taken out of the country. He was not able to make any outline beforehand, but put his thoughts down as they came. Documents such as this have not been published as yet; reports from behind the Iron Curtain are usually given by foreign correspondents or by men who have long since established security abroad. One Bulgarian of today has addressed the world from behind the Iron Curtain, but he did it when dead-Nicolas Petkov. This patriot, as he stood on the gallows, appealed to the Western world, which passively witnessed and is witnessing the murder of thousands and thousands of champions of real democracy.

The letter has been held for publication up to the present. Several months after it had been received, news came that the writer had been murdered in Soviet-occupied Bulgaria, and is thus in safety.

Dear -:

I received your letters and did not answer up to date because of caution. I have to reproach you for skillfully but recklessly mentioning politics between the lines when writing to me. This makes your letters dangerous.

Though we receive corrupted news from the communist-controlled instruments, we still have our judgment about the situation in the world. The disaster our country is in is such that it cannot be worse.

When you write, never write about political situations here or abroad; first, because I am well acquainted with them; and second, because I do not want to get into difficulties. From your letter I understand that you have some idea of the situation here, but even mentioning it is dangerous. Do not think that the censorship here does not know how to read between the lines.

Life here has entirely changed, but the old outside forms still remain. We have not yet started, all of us, to wear work-a-day caps on our heads, and most of us still wear the same clothes we had before, despite the fact that they are beginning to fall apart. We have to do this because, if we wanted to change our custom-made suit for a Russian blouse, we couldn't do so, as there is no material available even for a Russian blouse. If we had the material, we would have already been dressed in Russian blouses. Regardless of this, we still have a nominal right to ownership of different things, such as dwellings and other objects. But if anyone should get the idea of making use of these rights of ownership and try to show the Government that he really is the owner of a given object, he would very quickly realize that he can't count much on these rights.

To understand conditions better, transfer yourself over here in imagination. Let's pretend that you are a citizen of this "paradise." We will start with the difficulties in your own home. For example, the Communists may get to like your house or apartment and decide to move in other people to live there with you. You get the idea that this is not right because you are the owner. You will soon find yourself sent for several months to dig along a railroad project or work on the building of hydraulic-power plants, such as it is the fashion to build now in our territories. Also in your own dwelling, or more correctly in your own home (because nobody lives any more in an entire house or apartment), they may install whomever they like whenever they like. The norm is two people in one room. Drawing-rooms and halls are enclosures we only remember. For your meals you have your family sleeping room or the kitchen, which may have been left unoccupied.

The people with whom you must dwell are appointed by the court, and this by the recommendation of the district committee-which committee, by the way, takes care that no acquaintances of yours get into your house. The official explanation for this is that, because of the destruction wrought by the bombardment, the housing problem has become acute and it is necessary to "condense." If you keep in mind that Sofia has now a population of 650,000, of which the greater part are persons who have lately been dragged in as "devoted followers" of the governing party, then it will be clear to you just why these people are installed in different homes. The end is not to get them into a dwelling such as they had before they came to Sofia, but to install one or two in your home who will be able to report where you go, the words you pronounce, any movement made, everything cooked, the money you are spending, who your friends are, and who are the persons visiting you in your home.

How to be a Fascist

This control is not limited to your home only, but it is everywhere, on the street, in the restaurants, in the business offices and in the factories. It is exercised not only upon the so-called bourgeoisie, but it exists among all classes of society; and the workers and peasants, as a matter of fact, are subjected to a greater terror and moral suffering. Should a bourgeois give any resistance, he is simply declared a Fascist.

Being declared a Fascist, you will be fired from your job and you won't be accepted anywhere for a job unless you are willing to become an ordinary unskilled worker. In no business organization or office are they able to accept you, because of the opposition of the so-called "professional committees," which consist of representatives of the Government who "safeguard the power of the people" and who veto your acceptance. Should the management, however, decide to accept you regardless, then pretty soon a campaign will be started against you until one or the other (you or the management) surrenders.

What happens in private life also happens in economic life. In our business organizations nobody knows who is the master. The professional committees, which should guard the interests of labor—without having the right to do so by any law—in reality run the business corporation or factory. You cannot do anything in any business corporation or factory without the blessing of the professional committee. Corporations and factories are taken over by the Government; it confiscates under the pretext that during the "fascist regime" the owners expanded their business at the expense of the poor.

After the state had taken over a great number of enterprises, the Government realized that it couldn't run the businesses and didn't know what to do with all these possessions. So for a while a new method was applied. If a certain amount of money was given to the "Foundation for the Industrialization and Electrification of Bulgaria,"



then the Government could decide that the owners were not "speculators" and that their possessions had been acquired "in an honest way." Such operations naturally happened on the basis of "good will" and not for political reasons.

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It is impossible to do business or trade with the Western countries. There exists a monopoly of a few who have relations with the men in the Government and who arrange most unbelievable

combinations with the party in power (to which naturally a good share of the profit goes). Such combinations are necessary for import or export and for the obtaining of their respective licenses.

It does not matter that the national economy needs goods and that you are able to provide them. Should you, by any mistake, have offered American goods for sale, then even if you gave them as a Christmas present to the Government, your offer would still be turned down. The mere word America is enough to close doors.

The results of this policy are only too visible. The lack of machines is tremendous, and this naturally has an influence upon the construction and building development of the country. And, as there are no machines available, but the construction and building has to be done, one makes use of a system known to the Pharaohs-the machines are replaced by slave labor. If you read in the newspapers that thousands of young people are working in brigades on railroads, highway mountain passes and elsewhere "out of pure enthusiasm," you may get an idea how it is done. These are not employed labor, but are students from schools, high schools and graduate schools, old people and people who have been accused of being "parasites." "Parasites" are sent into Reform Labor Centers; now please do not get the idea that these are concentration camps! Such do not exist in our country! They exist only in fascist countries. But you may be forced for five or six months into such Reform Labor Centers. "Parasite" means anyone who has been a bit stubborn or free-thinking and has openly spoken some of his thoughts about the present situation. The young people go into the brigades through "good will" and "on their own initiative," because if they don't show the good will and the initiative when the graduate school starts, they may not get accepted as students; or, if it is just before examination, they may not be allowed to take the same.

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When the national economy of a country is paralyzed, naturally everything else is crippled. The official food rations are so small that, if we turn them into calories, it will show that we Bulgarians (who were once feeding Central Europe and exporting plenty to the Western countries) receive today less than the hungry Germans. As for clothes and shoes, such goods simply do not exist. Though one speaks about the "workers' enthusiasm" which has conquered the entire nation, the fact is that production simply is not rising.

Again imagine-how (in today's Bulgaria) you have been deprived of privacy in your home. You have no clothing, no job and no way to get work; i.e., you have been deprived of all your rights and have been sent to a reform camp. What would you do? Appeal? Appeal to Amendment II of the peace treaty, which secures the rights and liberties of the citizen? Very well, appeal but to whom? To the Allied Control Commission, which is appointed to survey the application of the peace treaty? Very well, but the British and Americans cannot enter the Allied Control Commission building if the Russian sentry decides not to let them enter. Or should you appeal to the United Nations? By the time they put the question on the agenda and the members meet and appoint the fact-finding committee (whose recommendations they won't be able to impose on the Bulgarian Government) you will long since have died of starvation, if the Communists haven't already liquidated you. The fact that you have appealed to the United Nations means that you have slandered the prestige of the country, and in doing so have been a traitor to the same.

Today thousands of people are accused of resistance and insubordination. Resistance or insubordination towards the Government here today means any word or gesture which may contain the smallest criticism against what is ordered from above. The Government coined the phrase: "The people demand that their enemies be punished." "The people demand"—that is a terrific phrase, a phrase by which the Communists were able to send to the gallows one of the most devoted sons of his country, Nicolas Petkov.

"The people"—this in reality is five or six persons, a committee, which with the greatest talent stages a meeting at which you are obliged to appear (they will check whether you have come). If you do not go, when you next need a ration card or coupon to buy some goods, or a note in order to get employment, they will not give it to you, and you will remain on the street, hungry and naked. At such a meeting they will propose a resolution on which you must vote, but in the composing of which no one will permit you to have part.

What is hidden behind this staged illusion only those unhappy creatures know who involuntarily raise their hands and vote in spite of their convictions. An American

asked me very naively: "But why do you vote, if you do not agree? Why don't you fight? A minority cannot imprison an entire nation in concentration camps." Yes, but this person forgot that, if it is impossible to imprison an entire nation in concentration camps, it is still possible to turn an entire country into a single and complete concentration camp. And besides this, the things that may appear as lack of courage (for instance, voting for something against one's own conviction) are not only demonstrations of fear. I rather would call this the instinct for self-preservation, which is something far more sensible than fear

No HELP ANYWHERE

It is wonderful to fight for right and liberty, but this feeling is not so strong as to replace the fear that comes from the realization that in this fight for right and liberty one feels so alone. When you are thrown back upon your own power, you realize that no person or no state will help you. You will see that this is so when you realize that the great nations have not been able up till now to cope with the Power which they ask you, a simple individual, to resist, saying: "Fight and we shall help you." When? This nobody tells you, And that is why I think it a childish and naive notion that we should show great opposition to make the West understand that we are fighting and deserve help. Who would understand this? The ordinary American or Britisher? In most cases, they do not even know we exist. If the statesmen are the ones who will understand, well, they should have done so a long time ago and, if they haven't until the present time, then they won't ever be able to.

It is well enough for Americans and Britishers, in their private and in their social and political lives, to write a law or to accept some norm as lawful; for our friends, the Russians, such laws and norms are nothing but scraps of paper. They dishonor their promises, and try to convince their allies that they are mistaken and haven't understood rightly the spirit of the agreement.

The law for them is only a beautiful front shown to a naive people who, after reading the law when printed, will say: "Look! What beautiful, democratic legislation! We, too, should adopt it in our country!" But not one of these naive peoples has tried to make a study to see how this legislation has been applied in practice. It is not the law which guarantees freedom and security for the citizen but the application of the law which counts.

Thus, for instance, the law in our country reads that nobody should be retained for more than forty-eight hours without being taken before the prosecutor (the new constitution shortened it to twenty-four hours). You should see, however, the hundreds and thousands of people who have been in jail, not for forty-eight hours, but for more than forty-eight days, without either being taken before the prosecutor or being sentenced. After they have been in jail for several months they have been let go with "a mistake was made." And the people go home without daring to let the idea occur to them that they could appeal or protest; as soon as you protest you may again get into jail, and this time not for only months but for a much

longer period. Here if we are the witnesses in some judicial process, they will hold us for inquiry for several days, and they will let us free a short time before the trial is on the agenda of the court.

If we still have the courage after this, we may tell the court the truth. But however we testify, "the court sentences." Before a judicial process is started, hundreds of meetings are held and the court is asked to sentence this one and that one "harshly and rightfully."

"Harshly and rightfully!" And naturally the court cannot do otherwise than listen to the will of the people. though "the courts are independent." All these things shouldn't astonish you very much. All of them are nothing new; they had been written years ago by Lenin himself. What should astonish you is the fact that many statesmen and politicans have never read even a few pages of any book of Lenin's. They are ashamed to acknowledge that they have permitted and are permitting such things to happen, and that they are powerless to stop the Soviets; because at the right time they were naive enough to believe that the Russians had "evolved," that terrible things happened during the Russian revolution, but that now the Russians have become "democratic."

This, in short, may give you an idea about life here. This letter burns under my fingers, and I try to get it out of the house and the country as soon as possible. After you have read this letter, do what you want with it, but never let anybody know that such a description has been sent from here by me. I underline this, though I know that you have been working with the underground. You still do not know what an organized world spy system means; that of the Germans cannot compare to the communist one. I do not like to be traced back. I can tell you the names of several people who are now in the United States as spies so that you may be on your guard. Never mind what they are talking about and how, and what political ideas they try to represent, they are not able to deceive us. You who live in a free country may get the idea that I am suffering from a persecution complex. Complex or not, we are persecuted.

Regardless of all that I have told you in these lines, I still haven't given up my old habit of believing that there are good people left and that there is a future of freedom possible. But how long will that be possible?

There is not much hope that we will meet again, but however little hope there is I like to maintain it. Do not write, but keep all your friends living behind the Iron Curtain in mind.

Until the day when we can meet as free people once more, able to talk and laugh again and enjoy God's gifts, I remain . . .

When the news about the death of the writer of the letter reached me, I took out of my drawer the letter which I had read again and again. A Bulgarian with a western background, of a family of democratic traditions, had written it in the darkest days, when Czechoslovakia, too, had fallen into the Soviet grip. Nobody had come to the aid of the last fortress of democracy in Eastern Europe. And though no hope existed at that time for any of the

countries under the Soviet heel, he had tried to be optimistic and believe that right would win out. Had he survived till now, when unrest is already starting among the Communists (like that between Tito and the Cominform), he surely would have hurled himself into underground politics and would have become a spark able to inflame a mighty fire in the hearts of a liberty-loving people.

Hero worship in the Balkans is a tradition inherited from the ancients; and the stronger the oppressor had been, the more numerous the heroes became until freedom was achieved. Was not the unspeakable Turk defeated in the Balkans? Did not the Germans suffer their greatest losses in the mountains of the Balkan countries, where the folk-songs from ancient times have been devoted to the heroes of freedom? Oppression cannot last forever in nations that love freedom.

The problem of feeding Germany

Robert A. Graham

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The crops in Germany this fall are the finest in years. Nature has been very merciful for a change, and it looks as if all Europe, in fact, will eat better this coming year. In Germany the abundance of crops coincides with the stimulating effects of the currency reform. Just a few days before writing this I came by train from Cologne to Frankfurt along the Rhine. What a contrast from the same trip exactly a year previous! Heavily loaded barges pulled by sturdy tugs were carrying coal up the river to provide power and heat for what is left of Germany's factories. The hillsides were covered by flourishing vineyards. But twelve months ago these vineyards were withered in the drought; there was barely enough water in the river bed to allow half-loaded barges to proceed. And in any case there wasn't much coal to ship from the Ruhrgebiet anyway. There is no doubt that Western Germany's condition is much improved.

But appearances can be and are deceiving. Here are some elementary facts that have to be remembered about Western Germany's present condition and its chances in the future. Despite the comparative abundance of potatoes and vegetables produced within Germany, almost half of the food (in caloric values) must come from imports. Of the 2,200 calories per day that the Americans and British have set as average for the German consumer in Bizonia, it is estimated that 1,000 calories must come from food imported from abroad. That is to say, Germany can produce even in this abundant year only enough food to provide an average of 1,200 calories per day per individual. Considering that the average ration for all consumers in the United States is about 3,200 (the official army ration is 3,840), and that even in England with its austerity program the ration is estimated at around 2,600 calories per day, it is simple arithmetic that without continuing imports of food Germany will starve.

A matter of terminology should be dealt with here. The term "average ration" means the diet that the average individual actually gets per day. That should be simple enough, but other terminology is used by MG that is very confusing and amounts to double and even triple talk. The "official ration" for a period might be 1,550 calories, while the "call-up ration" might be as low as 1,080 in May, '47, for example, or as high as 1,400 in March, '48. At the same time the housewife may find that the butcher or baker does not have the food corresponding to her called-up coupons. These figures are for the "normal consumer." Actually there are few persons falling in that category today, since practically every one, from "heavy worker" to "student," gets a supplementary ration of one degree or another. Since April of this year the official and the call-up rations are identical. But the average ration is something else again!

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Even the existing rations—that is, taking into account what the German actually eats, whether indigenous or imported food, acquired through official channels or through the black market—are barely enough to avoid the risk of seriously endangering the health of the people. One public-health officer for military government remarked: "I am frankly surprised that the German population has been able to keep its weight." The statistics gathered by MG have shown that the population, within the limits of seasonal variations, has maintained practically the same weight that it had in 1945. According to these figures, based on street surveys by nutritional teams, the average weight has dropped no more than two pounds in three years. This is the only positive standard for German health that appears reliable. Negative proof that the German health is not yet serious is the relatively low incidence of communicable diseases. The death rate is falling and the birth rate is rising, according to MG data. Although the population craves meat and fat, there is no proof that the lack of these items has had serious effects as yet. The lack of variety in diet (principally bread and potatoes) has not, apparently, produced significant vitamin deficiencies.

PRECAUTIONS

These data however are unsatisfactory, and it can only be said that to date no alarming symptoms have developed, despite the low caloric value of the average German's diet. For all their optimism, military government public-health officials are not concealing their anxiety that the bottom may suddenly drop out. Even they will admit that the diet of the people is a marginal one, and they are not sure that the comfortable averages may not actually conceal dangerously low vitality among critical sections. It was, perhaps, to assure a greater margin of safety that recommendations have been made that future feeding of Germany be on the basis of 2,540 average calories per day. In addition, it has been recommended that greater variety should be sought in the diet through the addition of fish, meat and oil. In all likelihood these recommendations, which were made by nutritional experts sent from the United States, will be acted upon.

It is amazing that a people living as the Germans do, under incredible housing conditions, have not fallen victim to all sorts of maladies. German doctors do in fact insist that tuberculosis is rampant. Military government officials, on the contrary, assert that the rate for TB in these postwar years is actually far less than the rate for TB during the First World War. A report on tuberculosis in the U.S. zone of Germany, issued by the Office of Military Government in May, 1948, makes this claim: "The tuberculosis mortality rate in the U.S. Zone in Germany, after a war rise, is again declining. In most parts of the zone it is approaching pre-war level. . . . It is approximately the same as the present rate in Great Britain, and well below the pre-war level in France and other parts of Europe." Only in Berlin, according to this report, is the TB situation serious. The German doctors, however, point out that the total number of cases reported has been increasing.

OPPOSING STATISTICS

It might be noted at this point, however, that neither military government nor German statistics are entirely objective. The military government quite naturally endeavors to prove that all is well in the occupied zone, while the Germans endeavor to prove just the opposite. One French doctor now with the occupation authorities was quoted as laughingly commenting that the Germans were using the same schemes on the French that the French medicos had previously used on the Germans. In Germany today, each side uses statistics and standards that favor its own contention. For instance, some German public-health authorities contended that the Germans had lost twenty pounds average weight. Upon inquiry it was found that the tables used were actually figures for persons in the United States during the first decade of this century. And the military government itself, lacking a reliable norm for German weights, has made up its own. The statistics presented in OMGUS reports state frankly that "the reference standards used in these calculations are not those of a well-nourished population, but have been adjusted to the lower limits of a range considered essential for maintainance of health." Therefore, whenever military government reports say that the weight of the average German continues at the same or perhaps a slightly lower level, these figures are according to standards set, not by universally accepted scientific nutritional rules, but by OMGUS itself.

It is such standards—"adjusted to the lower limits of a range considered essential for the maintenance of health"—that have caused the Germans to believe widely that the occupation authorities are deliberately starving them to death. It need not be said that this is not the policy of the occupation, even though the influences of the Morgenthau plan are still not completely swept away. A consideration of the situation that Western Germany is now in will show that these standards are actually minimum standards rather than maximum ones.

Before the war Germany produced only from 70 to 80 per cent of its own food. The rest had to be purchased through exports. Today's Western Germany is without

the rich grain-producing Eastern territories, now under either Polish or Soviet control. In addition, the present area represented by the three Western zones has a population of ten million more than it had in 1939. To make matters worse, this area's industry is at a fraction of its pre-nazi scale. The soil of Bavaria, like that of whatever agricultural lands there are in the Western zones, is overworked and exhausted. Under existing circumstances Germany is going to be a pauper and remain so. There is no need to have a specific policy of starving the Germans. All that is necessary is to leave Germany to itself

What do the Germans live on today? As indicated earlier, almost half the caloric value of their diet in the coming months must come from imports of food. These can come either by way of gift or of purchase. It is difficult to say to what extent German families have depended upon gift parcels from friends, relatives or private welfare sources abroad. The volume of such shipments is large and represents great charity and sacrifice on the part of the senders. Official OMGUS statistics published in June of this year reveal that in the first half of 1948 approximately 506,000 CARE packages had been received in the American zone and the U.S. sector of Berlin alone. This does not include 150,000 packages received in the same area sent through the Centre d'Entr'aide Internationale. A total of 10,942 short tons of bulk welfare supplies was received in the same period, most of this coming through CRALOG. Millions of packages have been sent by private individuals by ordinary mail. In these shipments, food predominated. Perhaps these totally voluntary contributions to Germany's larder were the unknown factor that has caused the surprise in MG circles over the ability of the population to maintain its weight at even the arbitrary OMGUS standards. Although, on account of the recent currency reform, money has begun to assume a new importance for the average German, food imports from voluntary sources will continue to be essential and welcome.

But purchases rather than gifts are the main source of German imports. The U.S. Government has already spent \$1.2 billion on food shipments since the end of the war, and there is no sign that this kind of aid can be cut down; rather the contrary. Since the theory is that Germany's exports must be increased to pay for these imports of food (and the Joint Import-Export Agency is ruthless in executing its campaign to catch every dollar in order to finance these imports), production must be stepped up. This in turn means that the German workers' ration must be increased, which in turn means that more food must be imported. More expensive items than wheat, such as tobacco and alcoholic drinks, may soon appear among the purchases abroad. These are known as incentive items. (In the Ruhr recently, when schnapps was added to the miners' daily ration, coal production shot up conspicuously.) Unless Germany's production is increased, the American taxayer will continue to have to foot a very heavy bill. This coming year General Lucius D. Clay has estimated that Bizonia will have to import food costing \$700 million. This is outside of ERP sources.

The three Western zones are receiving an additional \$414 million from ERP, but not all of this is for food.

Sooner or later Germany as constituted today in the West must pay for the food it eats. The alternative is perpetual dependence upon outright gifts from the United States, whose role in supporting the occupation has been getting heavier and heavier. We shall have to support not only the U.S. zone, but the French as well as the British zones. Is any politician thinking that this is going to last forever?

It is clear that Germany must be allowed to produce. No political leader or economist has ever said so publicly. And nobody in official position in the occupation has said so privately to this writer. Nobody needs to say it in public or in private, so fundamental is it that Germany's exports must be allowed to grow.

But the political objections to reviving Germany's industry are formidable indeed. At the moment, the sources of grain in Eastern Germany are closed off. East-West trade, which may prove to be the key to Germany's welfare, is at a standstill pending a settlement of disputes



among the great Powers. The French, Czechs and Poles, not without reason, stand as bitter opponents of a revival of German industry. Quietly, but no less firmly, Britain is fighting the entry of an additional

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rival into the export trade, upon which her survival depends now more than ever.

One prominent American leader in women's affairs who recently visited Germany said to me in Berlin that she had come to the conclusion after serious thought that the only solution to Germany's problem is birth control. In her own way she was reacting to the problem expressed in the words attributed (falsely it is said) to Clemenceau to the effect that there are "too many Germans." Today there are indeed, thanks to the Potsdam agreement to allow the dumping of millions of refugees from the East, too many Germans in the three zones for the industry that we allow to function under the level-of-industry plan. Birth control is no fair remedy for a situation whose principal cause is human arbitrariness in the one case and stupidity in the other. Dismantlings and expulsions shouldn't add up to birth control.

At this writing, life is beginning to stir again in Germany. Good crops and the currency reform have given at least a temporary lift to the population. Even the double-talk that officials indulge in when trying to put the best face on the situation has at the moment a greater plausibility. One has the sense that changes are in the air. They had better come soon. Germany must have food, but the problem of food will not be really met until Germany also has work. That is simple economics. It is also simple politics that Germany has not yet convinced her neighbors that a new threat may not still come from a revived Germany. The German populace, anxious to get back into the community of Europe, has an obligation to qualify for re-acceptance.

Literature & Art

Art from the pews

Fred F. McCaffrey, S.J., English teacher at Spring Hill College, Spring Hill, Ala., develops another theme in America's current discussion of art and religious values:

Fred F. McCaffrey

why do not priests and religious produce more great art?

When a nun tells you she has been writing poetry, you have a right to doubt her. The chances are a thousand to one she has not.

When a priest tells you he has finished a painting, you have a right to ask: "A work of art?" Probably it is not.

Let me explain.

I have no more inclination than the next man to scoff at the ink-soiled fingers, the paint-stained smock, simply because they happen to be the possession of a priest or religious today. Far from it. But I cannot help being convinced that these people, so well suited for the production of art, are not producing it today; or, if that statement is a little too strong, those of them who are producing it—when we consider the nature of their high calling and interior discipline, the one feature which modern art lacks most—are but a paltry few, the mere exception to the general rule.

What appears to be the tragedy of it is that every priest, every nun, every lay brother in the world has a training which is invaluable for the production of great art. They—and from observation one is often tempted to add, practically they alone—have been trained professionally to a discernment of real values, to a response, sincere, generous and spontaneous, to value given. Not only is their training in the liturgy, no matter how fragmentary it may be (and everyone knows that in some orders it is, through force of circumstance, quite incomplete), no matter how small it be; it is, I say, the best training in response-to-values that can possibly be given. And it is also, as Dietrich von Hildebrand, best known user of that hyphenated phrase, would agree, the greatest personality training that can be found.

That a response to values—in the case of art the response to the value, beauty—and a balanced personality are the greatest needs of art when it is considered speculatively is so clear it almost defies need of proof.

If response to the value, beauty, is not in the artist, where will his art come from? And if he has not the balanced personality to produce a balanced response to it, with what will he produce it?

No matter what physical equipment he may have, no matter what his control of his medium, he must first have a conception, not only of the beauty he is to produce, but also of the value of producing it. The interior, the conceptual order is here pre-eminent.

There is one rather obvious question which follows from those facts, and it is quite a simple one to answer: where, at least in theory, and most often in fact, will you find the interior life in the world of today that (let us make no bones about it) is the only one that matters much to us now? Practically speaking, in only one place: in the man of prayer.

Where is there a more clear-eyed response to values—without, mind you, that self-consciousness that modern times have proved is as much the producer of mediocre art as it is of mediocre souls—than in the man of prayer? And that man, in these times, you will find almost without exception among our clergy or our religious orders.

Here, then, is a place, perhaps the only place, where we have the perfect emotional and mental training for the production of art—in the completed, the liturgically trained personalities which our seminaries and our religious institutes aim at forming.

Then why are there so few artists among priests and religious? Because they do not rise to the terrifyingly great potentialities of their training? Perhaps. They are, after all, only human, therefore small, and this thing which we are discussing is awe-fully large. But a large part of the answer does not lie with them. It comes from something outside themselves, which is greater, larger, more important than they as individuals could ever be, something so large, in fact, that it would have no meaning for them if they were not the consecrated souls they have chosen to become. We try to compress something of it into four brief words when we speak of the needs of the world.

It might be said to be the shame of the Church that she has produced in the persons of her priests and religious since the days of the Reformation so few who could bring beauty to the world in the realms of art, if it were not true that she is producing during that time so many to fit its more pressing needs: the bringing of actual grace to the world through the word of God they teach.

It might well be argued that Christ, when on the Mount of Ascension He looked out over His disciples and said: "Go, teach," had two periods of history most clearly in His mind—that of the very early Church and that of our own neo-pagan day. Certainly, since the Reformers disrupted the unity of the Church, there has been no duty more pressing upon His servants than to go out to the nations of the world and speak to them, drawing

them back to Christ by telling them about Him and His teachings.

As a consequence you will find that the work of almost every priest, sister or brother in the world, if it is not a full-scale physical work of charity leaving no time for the production of art, is, no matter what it be called, no matter whether it be conducted from a parish house, the editorial office of a magazine, or on a street corner, a teaching work of one sort or another—and one, therefore, in direct contradiction to the avowed aim of art, the production of beauty for the sake of enjoyment.

This is the thing, this necessity for constant and unremitting teaching, much more than any mere lack of talent or physical ability, more even than the lack of suitable leisure for the planning and producing of great works of art, which prevents our men and women of God from presenting Him to the world as the God of Beauty. When the need of truth becomes less by reason of the fact that all men possess it, beauty may once again come to the fore in their words.

But there is one more factor, one inherent in their very vocation this time, which will always prevent them from producing art in proportion to their numbers or their high quality. It is the very nature of their higher calling, which makes their religious contemplation different from the esthetic contemplation of the artist by reason of the end which it serves, by reason of the fact that it has a worth in itself and is not of its essence aimed at reproducing itself in exterior works.

Certainly the priest comes into the closest possible contact with beauty when he holds Beauty Itself in his hands at the altar table. Yet for all priests other than the rare exception, that contact with Beauty must be enough. That contact is his aim and end in life. That bringing down of Christ to be physically present to His children over all the world, combined with the task of lifting the children to meet the Christ he has brought down, is the whole reason for the priest's existence. Beside that action

any attempt to snare and hold Christ's love and beauty in lifeless words most often fades to insignificance. Obviously, any art which interferes with that—as says a phrase much favored by the Benedictines, who have perhaps done more in modern times to produce art than any other consecrated hands—must become as nothing.

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What, then, follows from this series of reasons why priests and religious cannot, in the main, produce a great art today or any other day? One quiet but strong asseveration, and one that could bear with much repeating lest there be people who look to the clergy for Catholic art: great art must come from our pews.

It must be our laymen and laywomen who take upon themselves the pleasant burden of becoming so full of God's beauty that they give it to the world in colors or in words in a form as nearly as possible His own. No more the probability of the Fra Angelico or the Fra Benedetto arising among us: as rare today as he himself was in his own times, the Father Hopkins. Here, instead, is a challenge to our laymen-artists of today, not so much to join the consecrated soul as to surpass him. Where he must first serve the God of Truth to the world which needs Him first, they bring that extra something, beauty, from the God of Beauty.

Not only must they conquer the use of their tools, their brush, their chisel or their pen, but, even more, they must form themselves deeply in the response to value and the personality they will find in Christ; for such formation will do more to increase whatever initial gift of talent has been given them than any artistic discipline that has yet been devised. Their works of art must be as deep, mature and unselfconscious as a prayer. Their artists' souls must be as direct and innocent of "squinting" and of side designs as is a saint's.

Is this a big demand? Of course. Perhaps because of it our artists are as rare as our saints.

And that is a challenge to which someone must be preparing to rise.

Books

Analysis of leadership

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL TRA-DITION: And the Men Who Made It

By Richard Hofstadter. Knopf. 378p. \$4

Professor Hofstadter's volume offers an intellectually mature and urbane evaluation of democratic political leadership from the beginning. Its balance and penetration make it a rare treat. Where else, for example, can one find so detached an appraisal of Jefferson? The flamboyance of Jackson Day "knife and fork" democracy would pale if the worthies who hold forth could absorb his chapter on King Andrew. The analysis of Calhoun, "the Marx of the Master Class," is brilliant.

The long chapter on Lincoln stresses his deep-set political ambition turning into sorrow with its fulfillment, and his great political caution; but it leaves him still towering far above the average in moral seriousness. By comparison, Bryan cuts a poor figure: essentially that of a human public-address system for western agrarian discontent. unoriginal to the point of mental torpor. Where the Great Commoner failed, "Teddy the Trust-buster" succeeded, mostly because he shouted from the housetops what a national majority wanted to hear. Moreover, T.R. had an active mind, even if Spring Rice thought it was the mind of a boy of six. There is more to Theodore Roosevelt than that; but it is worth remembering that Taft brought ninety antitrust proceedings in four years to Teddy's fifty-four in seven.

Wilson did much better. "The first Wilson administration, in fact, produced more positive achievements than any administration since the days of Alexander Hamilton" (p. 253). This observation makes it all the more puzzling that Hofstadter found space for a long chapter on Wendell Phillips while passing over Alexander Hamilton altogether.

The chapter on Herbert Hoover leaves a curious impression: its subject's ideas seem to move backward as the story moves ahead. The author speaks of "...his prose, which has always been suggestive of a light fog moving over a bleak landscape."

At a time when the legend of F.D.R. is giving way to an anti-Roosevelt myth it is surely a tour de force to produce a study which leaves the mind of the reader in repose. Perhaps the key to Hofstadter's estimate of the Roosevelt Administration is this: "Such unity as it had was in political strategy, not economics." ROBERT C. HARTNETT

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GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS: A Study of Poetic Idiosyncrasy in Relation to Poetic Tradition

By W. H. Gardner. Yale. 281p. \$4

POEMS OF GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS

Third edition. Edited by W. H. Gardner. Oxford. 279p. \$3.50

For thirty years, ever since the posthumous publication of the poems of Hopkins in 1918, the predominant critical approach has been to point out that he broke very severely with the past, that he was a revolutionist. Unsympathetic critics have concentrated on his eccentricities, his oddities, his syntactic and prosodic innovations. Sympathetic writers have heralded him as the most original poet of the nineteenth century. Approving or disapproving, both parties have agreed that he was essentially revolutionary.

But it is equally true that Hopkins is a traditionalist of the traditionalists. This is one of the most important and central paradoxes in the history of poetry. For the matter of his poetry, instead of fabricating out of his own mind a new and subjective philosophy (as poets and artists, in the midst of the ever-accelerating collapse of the post-Renaissance world have tended to do) he found his inspiration in the long tradition of sacramentalism, a tradition as old as Christianity itself. For his form he went back to a tradition prior to that of the Elizabethans, back to the prosody of the Anglo-Saxon bard and gleeman, and revived sprung rhythm.

He was, then, really a revolutionary traditionalist. And perhaps this has been true of every great poet; in Hopkins it is true to a marked degree and offers one of the most important keys to his poetry.

It is the merit of W. H. Gardner to have grasped and carefully worked out this thesis. The object of his book is precisely indicated by the somewhat unwieldy subtitle "A Study of Poetic Idiosyncrasy in Relation to Poetic Tradition." His object is to show that Hopkins, at first sight so odd, eccentric, even revolutionary in matters of style and rhythm, is actually and eminently as legitimate an offspring of the great European poetic tradition as any English poet before him; it is to show that Hopkins appeals successfully, as does Shakespeare, to different levels of understanding. There is in his verse, Gardner quite rightly maintains, a primitive quality, a certain primary poetic meaning, which goes home at once; on the other hand, his subtle overtones and obliquities, his richly varied rhythms, his elaborately poeti-

cized theology and philosophy, his deeper probings into sensory and intellectual experience-these are qualities to be fully appreciated only by those readers who know something of the great traditions in which he was nurtured, and in which, moreover, as scholar and priest, he was both "curious" and learned. It is this ability, first to attract and then to hold our attention. that will ensure him a permanent place among the English poets.

Relying heavily, as he rightly should, on primary materials-on Hopkins' own letters, journals, notebooks, and especially on his poems-Gardner demonstrates his thesis with persuasive force combined with great flexibility and even

great sensitivity.

The only defect of the volume-and it is a shortcoming more apparent than real-is an organizational weakness that makes one ask, in the case of several chapters, exactly what relation they have to the central theme. They do have a bearing, but sometimes it is not perceptible on first reading, and the book tends therefore upon superficial perusal to become a series of essays rather than an architectonic whole.

But most essentially Gardner's book is, indeed, a key not only to the understanding of Hopkins, one of the most significant revolutionary traditionalists, but to the love and appreciation of any poetry really worthy of its name.

The new and enlarged edition of Hopkins' works, has been eagerly awaited. All previous editions have been out of print for more than two years.

Along with the accelerating demand for editions of Hopkins' poetry has gone an ever-increasing understanding and appreciation of his work, although there was a time not long ago when too many young poets were writing a "Hopkinese" that was merely superficially derivative. Now Hopkins has taken his place in the world of letters, and it is fitting that the Oxford University Press should have chosen so meticulous and so sensitive a scholar as W. H. Gardner to bring out the new

It was in 1918, thirty years after the death of Hopkins, that Robert Bridges published the first edition. Reactions varied from those who called it a "masterpiece of editing" to those who were aghast that the Poet Laureate had withheld his friend's poems for more than a quarter of a century. Critics with fewer a priori canons of taste than Bridges and more closely attuned to Hopkins' objectives were irritated by the carping and almost heckling tone of many of his notes. The truth is that it took ten years to dispose of the first edition of 750 copies and that Bridges, in spite of his limitations, performed an important service.

A second edition, incorporating some newly published poems, appeared in 1930 and rapidly went through ten im-

The present edition, the third, certainly ought to be the definitive one. It includes very nearly twice as many poems as the 1918 edition. The chronology has been corrected ("Spelt from Sibyl's Leaves" is correctly placed nearer the "terrible" sonnets) and there have been many additions: all the early verses and fragments which were first published by Humphry House in 1937 in the Note-books and Papers of G.M.H. are included as well as several hitherto unpublished poems, including two in Welsh and several in Latin and in Greek. A few poems of the original edition appear in revised versions, and some textual changes made by Bridges have been restored. Gardner has made additional collations and emendations, and his explanatory notes, especially those on "The Wreck of the Deutschland," are pointed and helpful, though occasionally one may quarrel with him on a minor point.

But the most important strictures on this edition must concern themselves with just exactly what must be included in an edition to make it definitive. The careful reader will miss the rhythmical marks and other accents which appear in the MSS of Hopkins. Though they are sometimes awkward and even inconsistent, only a selection of them is given in the notes. He will probably miss even more all the variant readings, only some of which are included. Further, about 500 lines, mostly fragments, it is true, remain available but unpublished.

The present volume, then, is both a needed and valuable edition of the poetry of Hopkins, but it is not finally and completely definitive.

JOHN PICK

On the Far East

THE INDONESIAN STORY

By Charles Wolf, Jr. John Day. 162p. \$3

The author of this contemporary sketch of the birth, growth and structure of the Indonesian Republic served as American Vice Consul at Batavia during the hectic period of which he writes with authority. Mr. Wolf had the good fortune of being on intimate terms with both the Dutch and the Indonesian leaders and he includes in his book vivid pictures of the leading figures on both sides, which serve to make his narrative lively and colorful enough to escape the criticism of its being a mere chronicle of events.

The chief shortcoming of this work is Wolf's failure to include at least a chapter on background so that the avetage reader would be better able to appreciate the happenings in which he suddenly finds himself immersed without adequate preparation. The previous history of the nationalist movement would not have required too much of a research job, and it would have contributed additional color through the mention of such personages as Princess Raden Karteni and such movements as Sarekat Islam and Budi Utomo. Other than this important flaw, The Indonesian Story is a first-rate if unpretentious piece of work.

Basically, Wolf has attempted to relate what happened when "the forces of the past and of the future met and began to be resolved [in 1945 et seq.], as opposing political and sociological forces usually are, partly by statesmanship and partly by military pressure." He is concerned largely with the political and economic struggle which began in 1945 and is still continuing. He is deeply conscious of the fact that he wrote at a time which was and is extremely fluid. None the less, he has sought to make an analysis of the Republic of Indonesia's long-range prospects and has not shied from suggesting their implications.

One of the foremost problems facing the writer at such a time is to maintain objectivity. Both the Dutch and the Republicans hold rather strongly to their particular views and naturally resent anything which they feel to be in the least detrimental to their peculiar case. Neither side will be especially happy with much that the book contains. That this is inevitable is, one believes, quite patent. However, a distinct impression of consistent striving after fairness is created upon the critical reader.

A valuable appendix includes the preamble and constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the text of the Linggadjati (Cheribon) Agreement, the interests of American firms in Indonesia, and the highly significant radio address of the now retired Queen Wilhemina on February 3, 1948, which was beamed to the people of the United States and Great Britain. A list of the persons who read the manuscript contains enough impressive names in the field to give the book a substantial recommendation on the part of real experts.

Thomas H. D. Mahoney

Footprints on the Frontier

by

SISTER M. EVANGELINE THOMAS

The record of a courageous and completely successful pioneering effort of five Religious Sisters of the Congregation of Saint Joseph to extend the frontiers of the Kingdom of Christ from New York State into what was at that time the hinterland of Kansas. It is valuable because it affords the opportunity to study a comprehensible detail of the bewildering panorama of portraits and events connected with the settlement and development of the great plains section of our Midwest. It is one more chapter, a very worthy one, in the over-all story of our Catholic Religious Sisterhoods and their heroic contributions to the life of the Church and a history of these parts of the United States.

Sister Mary Evangeline Thomas, head of the department of history at Marymount College, Salina, Kansas, received her A.B. degree from Marymount College (1932) and her M.A. (1934) and Ph.D. (1936) from Catholic University of America. Her doctoral work was done under the direction of the late Monsignor Peter K. Guilday, dean of American Catholic historians, and of Richard J. Purcell, also of Catholic University. Her doctoral dissertation, published in 1938, was Nativism in the Old Northwest. She is a member of the American Historical Association, the American Catholic Historical Association, the Kansas Historical Society, and the Catholic Association for International Peace. \$5.00

THE NEWMAN PRESS

Catholic Publishers

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MIRROR FOR AMERICANS: JAPAN

By Helen Mears. Houghton Mifflin. 324p. \$3.50.

The prophet Jeremias reviewed this book about 2,500 years before it was written: "Thine own wickedness shall correct thee and thy backslidings shall reprove thee" (Jer. 2:19).

A Catholic might call this book a mass-examination of conscience, ending with mea culpa. A Freudian would say it was a purging of guilt-consciousness for use of the atom bomb. A reviewer may term it the emotional reaction of one American who had enough historical background to become introspective in viewing our defeated enemies.

The author, who went to Japan in 1946 as one of a commission of labor advisers for the Occupation authorities, feels that America is unjust in imputing war guilt to the Japanese, and that we have given the surviving Japanese only a Fifth Freedom—"freedom to starve."

"The atom bombs were used . . . not against Japan, but in a political war against the Russians." The United States and Japan "went to war with each other for the same objective—access to strategic supplies in British, French and Dutch colonies."

Declaring the Japanese an innately peaceful, self-disciplined, self-contained race until Perry's warships ended their voluntary seclusion in 1854, the author charges that Japan's Western tutors, by force of example, are responsible for her modern history: "Japan's real crime is that she made good by Western standards." The Western Powers "taught the Japanese their own prac-

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tices in relation to 'backward peoples' and power politics."

Constructive recommendations are disappointingly meager, only two in fact: that migration of the Japanese "should not only be permitted but encouraged"; and that "unless a large percentage of the Japanese are to starve, some international agency will have to help them re-establish their export trade."

Pessimism is the keynote of the survey of the last one hundred years of Japan's relations with Western civilization. "The plans for today, to bring about peace and order in the Far East, are identical with those that failed before . . . our current foreign-policy leaders have become as blind to reality as the Japanese militarists before them."

It is in respect to Russia that the book makes the severest indictment.

If Russia is the world menace we are saying it is today, then Anglo-American policy-makers were criminally incompetent from 1931 on in not backing Japan in its de-clared project of creating a buffer state in Manchuria to hold back Russia and to combat the Communist menace in China. . . .

As the French say, this book gives one to think. But it supplies no answers. DOROTHY G. WAYMAN

NO HIGHWAY

By Nevil Shute. Morrow. 346p. \$3

This latest of Nevil Shute's novels may not command quite so large an audience as some of its predecessors. As usual, the author has written an eminently readable story, but the work of civilian scientists in postwar aviation research may not appeal as subject matter to the average follower of light fiction. Moreover, the introduction of the planchette or ouija board as a source of useful scientific information will be distasteful to readers who are interested in technical subjects.

Dennis Scott, the narrator in No Highway, is head of the Structural Department of the Royal Aircraft Establishment at Farnborough in England. Through him we are introduced to Mr. Honey, one of the research workers engaged in the study of "fatigue in light alloy structure." Honey is an eccentric who, outside of business hours, indulges in strange pseudo-religious studies involving the place of the second coming of Christ, worked out from directions on the Great Pyramid in Egypt. He is a widower with a small daughter, Elspeth.

The exigencies of the skillfully worked plot take Mr. Honey to Labrador aboard an airliner of the very type in which he has been investigating the

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results of metal fatigue. If his theory is right-he makes this horrifying discovery midway over the Atlantic-the tail is due at any moment to drop off the plane in which he is traveling. Among those aboard the plane are Monica Teasdale, slightly fading American movie star, and an attractive stewardess, Marjorie Corder. Is Mr. Honey's theory true or false? Is the airliner in imminent danger of crashing or is it not? Nevil Shute makes the most of the suspense. He has a gift for putting highly technical matters into layman's language so that the most unscientific reader not only can understand it but will find it intensely interesting.

However, when the redoubtable Mr. Honey, using his little daughter as a medium, solved the plot's most vexing problem by the aforementioned planchette, this reader's interest ebbed. One may go along with Mr. Shute in his thesis that a sincere scientist must have an open mind and must not reject any honest means of gaining information, and still refuse to follow him into the dark and dangerous byways of spiritualism.

MARY BURKE HOWE

ONE CLEAR CALL

By Upton Sinclair. Viking. 626p. \$3.50

With Shaw waxing sentimental over Eire in his tenth decade, it needed only Upton Sinclair to pay a compliment to the oldest of his bêtes noires, Catholicism; then the lion could lie down with the lamb, and the Apocalyptic days would be upon us. However, the millennium is not yet, though there are certain signs apparent in this, the ninth installment of Mr. Sinclair's Baedekernewsreel roman of contemporary history, that 'round about the sixteenth volume the inconceivable may come to pass. True, in One Clear Call he gibes at birth control in Latin lands, equates Norman shrines with political reaction, and saints with idols, and trots forth his stock charge that the Labor encyclicals of Leo XIII are a stumbling block to the Catholic hierarchy. On the other hand, Lanny reads the Osservatore, "the Vatican newspaper, which gave more news of the outside world than Mussolini would permit in any of his fascist papers"; and when, after a Fortress raid on the San Lorenzo yards. the Holy Father, "a small, scholarly figure in a white dress," visited the panic-stricken Romans, "Lanny bowed his head with the rest and kept silent."

The mixture is very much as before. The Moving Finger writes, and Mr. Sinclair moves his agreeable puppets over the Kriegsspielkarte of 1943-1945. Or, to be more precise, he allows himself to be pushed hither and yon, a compliant, amusing and manifestly

amused planchette, by Hardy's Ironic Spirit, thus neatly disposing of that endemic bane of the romancer, the problem of invention. Lanny's third marriage seems to have jelled most satisfactorily, and spouse Laurel, for a wonder, is as vast a she-prig as he-prig hero Lanny himself. The incense continues to spiral upward before the Roosevelt icon. Nevertheless, as Galileo did not say, "Eppur si muove!"-it still goes down, and we come up for more. For the ninth time the present reviewer finds himself in the ambivalent position of the Curé d'Ars vis à vis the Tempter: he and le grappin have become old friends.

It may not be at all off the mark to suggest that, in his Brook Farmish, Parringtonian way, Upton Sinclair is a Puritan Dumas. Not so much the Dumas of the Musketeer trilogy as of the Valois romances, perhaps, for ours is a century of political murder, cabal and counterplot very like the century of the mephitic Medicis. Though his Lanny has neither the verve nor the swordarm of Dumas' famous Chicot, in two respects at least Mr. Sinclair shows himself more audacious than the gusty nineteenth-century octoroon and his jester hero. Chicot had to eavesdrop in confessionals in order to spy on the doings of the Guises, while Lanny, via his wife's mediumship, can summon to

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A NOVEL OF SAINT PATRICK

by William G. Schofield

The hero of this exciting novel is Ireland's great St. Patrick. Set against the rich beauty of fifth century Irish civilization the story unfolds as the young slave Patrick, recently brought to Ireland from the smoking ruins in Gaul, herds his flocks in the wild heights of Slemish and conceives his great mission to Christianize the land of his exile. Into it are woven the romance of Kevin and Concessa whose destinies were so closely linked with Patrick's, and portraits of the men of ancient Eirinn. Above all shine the zeal and charity of Patrick which were met by an answering nobility and are imprinted so indelibly in the Irish heart.

Longmans

his aid against the fascist monster from some shadowy socialist limbo such a political martyr as the murdered Matteotti. As for Mr. Sinclair's own feat of derring-do, he tweaks the bristling mustachios of the law of libel with the most gasconading aplomb; and, as in the case of d'Artagnan and Chicot, no one seems willing to pick up his gauntlet. Colonel McCormick, suh! Est-ceque tu es poltron?

CHARLES A. BRADY

THE CLEFT ROCK.

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y in 3.00 By Alice Tisdale Hobart. Bobbs-Merrill. 376p. \$3

The irrigation problem of the Central Valley of California provides a readymade source of conflict for the characters in this novel. Pitting private monopolies against small farmers who want state control, Mrs. Hobart, author of Oil for the Lamps of China and The Peacock Sheds His Tail, adroitly manages to use the ensuing drama to illuminate the deeper drama that takes place in the hearts of men, although she goes only so far and no further. In less capable hands The Cleft Rock might easily have become a propaganda piece for state control of limited resources, but Edward and Jeremy Dodd, Katya Suvorov, Peter and others make it mean something more.

The book is well written and well planned, even if the plot does get a bit too pat toward the end. But its division into three parts, "The Family," "The Valley," and "Land and Water," really helps in clarifying all that Mrs. Hobart wants to say. The first part, beginning in 1920, sets down Edward Dodd's weakness in the face of family mores and his subsequent divorce from Katya, a refugee Russian, to please his over-whelming father. The second part, which forms the bulk of the book, tells of Katya's struggle to work the hundred Valley acres willed to her by Grandmother Dodd, who never forgave Edward for leaving his wife. Her problems and those of other small California farmers come amazingly alive. The eleven years she spent in the Valley with her son Peter end in failure when Lesly, a greedy landowner who has forced farm after farm to the auction block by withholding water from them, finally takes her land too. "Land and Water" concludes the book and finds Peter a young man back from the war and working in the Reclamation Bureau, an investigation of which brings him face-to-face with his Congressman father and a dramatic debate with him over state control of Valley water.

The story holds its own with little sensationalism, although the air of secularism quite makes up for it, reflecting, no doubt, things as they are. "As Edward's divorced wife she [Katya] will be respected," says John Dodd, Edward's half-brother, who later marries her himself. Throughout the book divorce is taken for granted by everyone except the octogenarian grandmother, who is dismissed as a Calvinist.

ELDA TANASSO

RESOLVING SOCIAL CONFLICTS

By Kurt Lewin. Harper. 216p. \$3.50

Although this volume is a posthumous collection of papers published by the author between his arrival in the United States (1935) and his death (1945), it is remarkable for excellent arrangement, lucid presentation of the individual topics and absence of repetitiousness.

The central theme of the volume is the analysis of problems of human conduct in society, in terms borrowed from the author's Gestalt theory of mental processes. This type of analysis he calls "systematic," in contradistinction to the causal one prevailing in science and often held to be the only scientific method. The purpose of this analysis is to show, not the "why" of the actual events in human relations, but their significance in terms of the total structure embracing the interacting individuals. It goes approximately in the same direction as functionalism in ethnology and Dr. Sorokin's study of the "logicomeaningful" integration of culture.

A scientific theory is acceptable if it works; in other words, if it helps us understand some part of reality. In this sense, Dr. Lewin's theory works very

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well. Read for instance Chapter 1, devoted to a comparative study of social actions of typical Americans and typical Germans. The study is arranged around a very simple contrast. The "peripheral region" of an American, i.e. the region accessible to other persons, goes deeper than that of a German, but finally meets a barrier making the central nucleus almost impenetrable, while this barrier is not so high in the personality of a German. From this statement, well demonstrated on the basis of convincing evidence, an amazing number of corollaries are drawn, of which those concerning education, friendship, emotions and friction are the most interesting.

The theory works well not only on the level of theory, but also on that of action. Chapter 8, for instance, offers in dramatized form the story of a chronic conflict in industry solved on the basis of an interpretation of the total situation by means of Dr. Lewin's systematic analysis. Not very much seems to have been added by the same analysis to the existing knowledge of the background of conflicts in marriage. But Part Three, devoted to the Jewish problem, contains a number of valuable suggestions on procedures to be used to overcome the "marginal man" situation which is the foundation of many conflicts.

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The Word

BETTY HAS A FINE CAPACITY for good anger.

She was angry now, as she came storming to me. At her heels, grinning, came Joe, who has no capacity for anger at all.

"Daddy," she cried, "Joey says he wants to be a soldier. He'd have to kill people."

"Bad people," said Joe.

Tears came into Betty's eyes. "I don't want him killing anybody. Beside, he might get killed himself."

Joe shrugged. "Then I'd go to heaven."

"But I don't want-!" Betty stopped suddenly. "I don't want you getting killed," she finished, her voice trailing

Joe's voice was mild. "Somebody's got to fight the bad people."

Betty opened her mouth to answer, but I shushed her. "You're both right,"

They pointed at each other, and exclaimed in unison, "There!"

"Relax," I told them. "Betty, you're right in not wanting Joe to kill or be killed. Your heart tells you that. You're a woman; and God made women to be . . . well, to be like you are."

"But Joe's right, too." I turned to him, and his eyes, darkly luminous like starlit midnight, glowed with gratitude. "Somebody's got to keep the bad people from hurting the good people. That's why we have policemen and soldiers. That's why we have govern-

Betty's face puckered like a flower folding for the night. "But Joey doesn't have to be a policeman or soldier!'

"No," I admitted, "he doesn't. But Betty-suppose gangsters came into the house to kill Mommy and kidnap little Jimmy. Would you want Joe and me to fight them?"

She looked as fierce as is possible for a flower. "Yes!" she said.

"And if we weren't here-would you be glad if you could call a policeman or a soldier?"

She knew she was trapped. "Yes." "Honey," I said, "Joe shouldn't be a soldier unless God wants him to. But remember that God wants some men to be soldiers, because God wants order and justice in the world. And He gives those men the grace to be good soldiers, and takes them to heaven if they are good ones." I paused. "And I think Joe would be a good one."

Joe's face was a study in embarrassed pride. But Betty was pouting again. "Why?" she asked.

I answered with another question. "Did you ever see Joe angry?"

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She considered, then shook her head. "No.

"That's why. Soldiers must be able to fight without hating, and without losing their heads."

I turned to Joe. "Remember when I told you never to start fights, and to try to walk away if somebody else started one?"

He nodded.

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"But I said that if a bully started tormenting smaller children, then you ought to fight him for their good-and his."

He and Betty nodded in unison.

"I told you that," I said, "because I knew you could fight and keep smiling. I knew you wouldn't fight any harder or longer than you'd have to. You'd quit when the bully was beaten-and you'd still like him. Wouldn't you?"
"Sure," said Joe. "But not for being a bully."

They sat looking at me. Presently Betty said, "Then you think Joey ought to be a soldier."

I tweaked her nose. "I didn't say that. Joe and everybody else ought to do lots of praying and ask God to show them what He wants them to do. Then

We sat silent for a moment. Then I added, "But there's one thing sure. God wants every one of us to be a certain kind of soldier."

Betty's eyes widened. "Even girls?" "Even girls. St. Paul tells about it in the Epistle for next Sunday, the 21st after Pentecost. It's in his letter to the Ephesians, chapter 6, verses 10-17.

"He tells about a different kind of world war-a war between two worlds, between heaven and hell. That's the biggest war, and everybody's in it. St. Paul says we're fighting against devils who have invaded our earth. All other wars are only parts of that war.

"We must be soldiers of Christ, St. Paul says. We must wear God's uniform, and carry God's weapons."

"God's uniform?" asked Betty. "God's weapons?" asked Joe.

I read to them, adjusting the language to their understanding: "Put on God's armor, so that the devil with his tricks can't beat you . . . wear Truth for your uniform, and have Justice for your barricade. Stay inside the fort of Faith, so that Satan's fiery bombs cannot kill your soul. Put on your head the battle helmet of Salvation, and carry in your hand the Sword of the Spirit, which is God's word."

I tilted Joe's chin up. "Whether you're a soldier or something else, have Christ for your Captain. Follow Him, and obey His orders. When you die, you'll go to heaven and have Him for your Prince . . . Prince Christ.'

Betty's eyes were shining. "I won't mind if Joey's that kind of soldier, JOSEPH A. BREIG

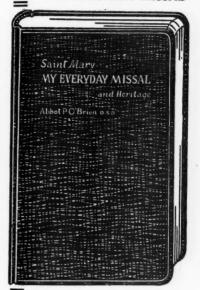
Theatre

MAGDALENA. It's no use beating about the bush. Here is a musical drama of startling beauty. Homer Curran's production in The Ziegfeld has an appealing love story that is alternately tender and tempestuous, sets by Howard Bay that are a voluptuous profusion of tropical colors, costumes by Sharaff that transform chorus performers into birds of paradise, fine acting by all the principals, precision direction by Jules Dassin, all embroidered with luxurious music by Heitor Villa-Lobos.

The production derives its title from a river in South America, and all the action is in the Magdalena basin except one scene in Paris. That scene is obligatory because the melodramatic villain, a glutton and libertine, resides in the French capital while the Muzos -apparently the equivalent of peons or sweatshop workers-toil in his emerald mine to provide him with funds for riotous living. The outstanding personality among the natives, or Muzos, is a religious girl in love with an irreligious man, appropriately named Pedro. which, my scant knowledge of Spanish suggests, means Peter, a rock. For some quaint reason the Muzos walk out of the mine in a cease-work movement which we would call a strike. When production stops, the owner of the mine, General Carabana, hurriedly returns to his natal hacienda to scotch the trouble, bringing along with him his French mistress because she is too good a cook to leave behind in Paris. Determined to break the strike without palavering, concessions or any similar foolishness, the general decides to drive the Muzos back into the mine with soldiers. Apparently he was not listening when John L. Lewis observed that it is difficult to mine coal with bayonets. Before he has a chance to discover that they are also poor tools for mining emeralds, he literally eats himself to death.

As played by Hugo Haas, the general is the lawless hedonist, whose sole aim in life is to cosset his senses and baser emotions, while Irra Petina is elfishly humorous as the cocotte who

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FORTY MINUTES FROM NEW YORK

has discovered that the shortest way to his heart and billfold is through his capacious stomach. Dorothy Sarnoff, the religious girl often betrayed by her temper and affection, submits a sensitive performance in an exacting role, and John Raitt makes the braggadocio Pedro a convincing village Voltaire. Other commendable efforts are too numerous to be awarded the compliments they deserve.

Space is also too limited for adequate comment on many secondary creative and production achievements; for instance, Jack Cole's beautiful dance numbers and Gerhard Pechner's sympathetic performance as a patient priest, who pulls the loose ends of the story together with a pat little homily on faith. There are worldly scenes tinctured with cynical humor, an exciting musical number, The Broken Pianolita, romantic duets and flashes of passioneach deserving a word of praise. The variety of deft articulated talents, which could hardly fail to result in an evening of first-rate entertainment, is lifted to the plane of a spiritual adventure by the Villa-Lobos score. It is music that has dignity and color and humor, and I have a hunch that not too far in the future Magdalena will be included among the junior operas.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Films

THE CRY OF THE CITY. Movie commentators who are disturbed over the possible demoralizing effect of some gangster films should find that in the matter of moral balance this treatment of the cops-and-robbers theme is exemplary. The story is a sort of Odd Man Out without the symbolic overtones. A wounded criminal (Richard Conte) escapes from a prison hospital and stumbles through a series of adventures until he is finally overtaken by his detective nemesis and boyhood friend (Victor Mature). The slumbred detective's zeal in carrying on the man-hunt springs from his understanding of how a criminal who outwits the police can become the idol of underprivileged youngsters. His successful effort to avert this results in a movie which persuasively deglamorizes crime. As entertainment, the picture is not nearly so effective. The various melodramatic episodes rehash situations exploited to good advantage in the past; in spite of competent direction and performances the warming-over process has caused them to become burnt around the edges. Adults are likely to be painfully aware that, once having "sprung" the criminal from prison, the

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THE SAXON CHARM is a sophisticated comedy drama which dissects a thoroughly repellent character. Matt Saxon (Robert Montgomery) was a theatrical producer who blithely trampled on the rights and wishes of associates in his pursuit of self-glorification. In the course of the film he nearly breaks up the marriage of his newest playwright protegé (John Payne, with Susan Hayward as his wife), is responsible for the suicide of his ex-wife (Heather Angel) and deals a body blow to the career of the singer (Audrey Totter), who, however misguidedly, loves him. Montgomery's performance and Claude Binyon's witty script convey the personal magnetism (or "charm") of the man well enough to explain his power to command people in spite of their loathing. The chief reason, it would seem, for audience interest in so completely unsuccessful a human being is the paradox which makes him at the same time a theatrical genius. After thus describing Saxon on numerous occasions, the picture blunts its own point by making all his professional efforts give quite the opposite impression. (Universal-International)

RACHEL AND THE STRANGER goes back farther in time than most Westerns-to the days when the frontier was just west of the Allegheniesand attempts a story which is equally off the beaten track. A farmer (William Holden), recently left a widower, buys a bondswoman (Loretta Young) and marries her for appearances' sake, though he and his small son ignore her sterling qualities and regard her as a servant. The poor girl might have eaten her heart out indefinitely in lonely misery but for the arrival of a roaming, ballad-singing hunter (Robert Mitchum) with courtly manners and courtship in mind, who sets the farmer to analyzing (correctly) a strange feeling of jealousy. For adults this is handled with good taste and with considerable humor and regional flavor. When its somewhat perfunctory view of a situation remote from the experience of modern audiences threatens not to hold up any longer, the charm of its musical score and a full-scale Indian attack intervene to keep matters moving along pleasantly. (RKO)

AN INNOCENT AFFAIR, which stars Fred MacMurray and Madeleine Carroll, is a horrible example of the booby-traps besetting the path of moviegoers drawn to the box office by glamorous names alone. The plot deals

in farcical fashion with a married couple who nearly land in Reno over the complications ensuing when the husband, for no discernible reason, conceals from his wife a business date with an old flame. Restricted only by two guiding principles-1) never have your characters tell the truth; 2) under no circumstances allow their conduct to resemble normal human behavior-the script writer had no trouble pyramiding involvements. Some of them, thanks to the law of averages and the expert clowning of MacMurray, were bound to be funny. Mostly they are hackneyed, repetitious and, like .he picture's over-all tendency to regard marriage as a football, a little nauseating. (United Artists)

Moira Walsh

Parade

IF SHAKESPEARE WERE LIVING

(Scene: Shakespeare, on a visit to the United States, is being interviewed by newspaper men.)

Reporter: Did you enjoy the voyage over the ocean, Mr. Shakespeare? Shakespeare: Verily I did-especially

the evenings. How sweet the moonlight slept upon the sea. How thick inlaid with patines of beauty was the floor of heaven. Not the smallest orb I beheld but in its motion like an angel sang. Sirs, such harmony is also in immortal

Reporter: Sir, why is this harmony inaudible?

Shakespeare: Whilst this muddy vesture of decay (tapping his body) doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it. Reporter: I see you are fond of music,

Mr. Shakespeare.

Shakespeare: Yea, truly, the man that hath no music in himself, nor is moved with concord of sweet sounds is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils.

Reporter: What is your feeling about modern music?

Shakespeare: One of horror. For example, I am never merry when I hear

sweet music.

Reporter: Since your arrival this morning, has anything caught your interest? Shakespeare: I was stirred by the newspaper account of Babe Ruth's funeral Mass. How tremendous the tribute to the Babe. And yet how ephemeral is human fame. But yesterday the Babe's bat might have stood against the world. Today it is a relic. Truly, we are such stuff as dreams are made on; and our little life is rounded with a

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ST. MARY'S ABBEY, 528 HIGH STREET, NEWARK 2, N. J.

Reporter: Sir, what is your thought about Palestine?

Shakespeare: It grieves me that blood should fall on the holy fields where walked the blessed feet which were nailed for our advantage on the bitter cross.

Reporter: Mr. Shakespeare, do you think the Western Powers should stay in Berlin?

Shakespeare: Indeed, yea. Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just.

Reporter: What is your reaction to Stalin, Sir?

Shakespeare: It doth amaze me that one man should so get the start of the majestic world and bear the palm alone. Why he doth bestride the narrow world like some colossus, while under his huge legs petty men find themselves dishonorable graves.

Reporter: You think he does not rate such dominance?

Shakespeare: He does not, indeed. Conjure with me, reporters. A Vishinsky, a Yagov will start a spirit as soon as Stalin. Upon what meat doth this Stalin feed that he is grown so great? O. Moscow, thou hast lost the breed of noble bloods. There were Vishinskys once that would have brook'd the eternal devil rather than cringe to such a Georgian. The time, sirs, is out of joint, and confusion hath wrought its masterpiece. Reporter: What, sir, is the basic cause that disrupts the modern world?

Shakespeare: Man himself; man. committing the oldest sins in the newest kind of ways. Proud man, dressed in a little brief authority, most ignorant of what he's most assured. Lord, what fools these mortals be. The fault is not in our stars but in ourselves. Sirs, let man but return to his captain, Christ, and a better world will be born.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

Correction

In the review of Unions, Management and the Public (AM. 10/2/48), by E. Wight Bakke and Clark Kerr, Mr. Kerr's first name was erroneously given as Charles. We apologize to Mr. Kerr and the publishers.

JOHN PICK, Associate Professor of English at Marquette University, Milwaukee. is the author of the book, Gerard Manley Hopkins, Priest and Poet, published by the Oxford University Press in 1942.

Dr. Thomas H. D. Mahoney, well known lecturer and teacher, of the Department of History at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has been appointed visiting lecturer at Wellesley.

Correspondence

Reply to Mr. Grace

EDITOR: Anent the article by William J. Grace (Am. 9/11) in which he brings an indictment (previously returned, Am. 3/6, against nominal Catholics in general) more specifically against the products of our Catholic institutions of higher learning and the instructors who teach in them.

Doubtless Mr. Grace can adduce some specific examples to substantiate his statements, but the tenor of his article seems to include Catholic education 100 per cent. Having been "in the business" now upwards of twenty years, in a position which has meant contact with a large and important area of Catholic social thinking throughout the United States, I take exception to both the content and the coverage of his indictment.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

Last June it was my good fortune to participate in a workshop in which representatives from twenty-six Catholic institutions of higher learning met for a solid week to discuss and to lay plans for the improvement of the undergraduate sociology curriculum. I am willing to guarantee that those forty or more strategically placed and influential teachers would be keenly aware of the appearance of Locke, Hume, Bentham and the subtleties of the NAM, and would be able to convey to their students, by some means or other, the ability to do likewise and to think in constructive terms. There is also a Catholic Economic Association, and another association of Catholic teachers of economics.

It is an altogether unwarranted assumption, and an unjustifiable generalization, to say that these ideas are not presented and grasped—say eighty per cent—in the social-science courses in the college or university.

It is a truism to say that Catholicism is demanding of our lay people today heroic virtue in a measure far beyond the demands of days gone by. That the challenge is met even up to seventy per cent is due, after grace, to the enlightened intelligence of the great body of our laity, who, against terrifying odds, are living exponents of Catholic teaching, and who owe their knowledge of its tenents to a Catholic education intelligently permeated with the doctrine of the Church developed down to the latest encyclical.

In so far as Mr. Grace's indictment is expressive of the divine discontent and the thirst for perfection that forever torments us teachers, laissez faire; but in so far as he purports to present us with a factual picture of current conditions, erase it!

My contacts, I will most freely grant, are limited; but they are sufficiently numerous to raise a substantial objection to his thesis. From end to end of this broad land there are countless men and women living, throbbing with the Christ-life; and in His gentle, persuasive way fulfilling His desire that they be the salt of the earth. Year after year, this host is being increased by the output of our Catholic colleges and universities. They are not the nominal Catholics who "represent" the "Catholic element" in government positions, on boards, etc.; these are rarely the products of Catholic education, and are acceptable to the powers that be only in so far as their Catholicism is diluted and harmless. Catholic education, of course, assumes no responsibility for

FRUITS OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION

Today, as in the day of the Master, rich young men turn away from Him and reject the current application of His teachings because of their preference for lesser goods; but no more today than in that older day does this represent a majority of those who heard His voice in Catholic schools. That Quadragesimo Anno and subsequent encyclicals have seeped into the general consciousness so much more rapidly than did Rerum Novarum is, I submit, due principally to the efforts of teachers in Catholic institutions of higher learning.

The large number of these schools under Jesuit auspices have funneled into our social body thousands of such students. The Catholic University and the great John A. Ryan, the University of Notre Dame and its equally magnificent though less widely known William A. Bolger, C.S.C., and their students, and countless others unknown to me by name are, I think, deserving of a passing parade in constructive Catholic social thinking in the economic area

Please bring us specific and helpful criticism of our deficiencies, and we will try to amend our lives. But it is very untrue and unfair to condemn our system in toto, or even fifty per cent, on unsupported and gratuitous charges. I think AMERICA'S space should be more effectively utilized.

SISTER MARY LIGUORI, B.V.M. Mundelein College Chicago, Ill. re; ent

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